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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Viability of 'New Serbia' Considered

93BA1016B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
30 Apr 93 pp 16-17

[Article by Dusko Topalovic: "Western Serbia in a Wedge"]

[Text] *The so-called Western Serbia could not survive without a geographic-traffic link with the Republic of Serbia, because it would be in the hostile environment of those countries whose territory it occupied.*

The long-announced Greater-Serbian unification assumed political form at the recent session of the newly formed assemblies of the "republic of Serbian Krajina" and the "Serbian republic" in Bosanski Novi, renamed Novi Grad. The final state unification has been postponed for better international circumstances, although with the establishment of a joint "National Assembly," it has been done de facto. Deliberate vagueness as a specific feature of Serbian negotiators, however, leaves them diplomatic maneuvering room, citing the fact that they have nevertheless not proclaimed that joint state de jure. Since the military-strategic and economic communication of the Greater-Serbian acquisitions on the territory of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the FRY, has taken the shape of "domestic cooperation" for a long time now, the primary Greater-Serbian diplomatic task is becoming a joint negotiating approach at conferences on the former Yugoslavia. Consequently, geopolitical integration has mostly already been achieved, and so what is left is to "push" the joint team of Croatian and Bosnia Greater-Serbs into world diplomacy, because their acceptance would actually be indirect political recognition of the new state.

Since there was no formal proclamation of the new state in Bosanski Novi, the issue of its name was not raised. On the eve of this session, however, there was most speculation about the name "New Serbia," which, in comparison with the former placename "West Serbia," implies a clear geopolitical content. Specifically, citing an adjective for a state name like northern, southern eastern, or western suggests the state's division, which is usually prolonged and problematic. Politically obsolete placenames like West and East Germany, West and East Pakistan, North and South Vietnam, or North and South Yemen, imply a complex problem of state disunity, and North and South Korea and Northern Ireland still reflect it today.

The name "New Serbia" is supposed to tell us that it does not involve the division of a state or people, but rather a new politogenesis and the creation of a state, which are taking place as a process in the vicinity of the "old" Serbia. As the "old" and "new" Serbias are territorially linked, with nationalistic inspirations of the same type, and differ only in the time of their appearance, their unification is also geopolitically logical. Consequently, the political and territorial linkage of the

Greater-Serbian acquisitions in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina would represent the primary unification, while the linkage of this newly emerged state with the Republic of Serbia (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) would be the secondary unification, or the final and key stage in the establishment of a Greater-Serbian state.

This sort of territorial and political sequence is not any surprise at all, since as far back as two and a half years ago Jovan Raskovic announced a geopolitical concept in the event of the collapse of the former Yugoslavia: "We will seek a merger of the old Krajina with the Bosnian Krajina, which has always been an independent state, and no one should rebel against it." This scheme, however, is being hampered by the Muslim Bihac-Cazin enclave, the Croatian-Muslim military pressure in Bosanska Posavina, and the lack of a Greater-Serbian outlet to the sea and a spatially broader and safer territorial link to the FRY. Admittedly, even without a territorial link to the FRY, "New Serbia" could exist as a political part of it—like Alaska with respect to the United States, the Kaliningrad oblast with respect to Russia, Cabinda with respect to Angola, etc. In these cases, however, the regional environment does not complicate the state's territorial division, which makes possible normal economic and other functions. That, however, is not the case of "New Serbia," which could not exist without a geographic-traffic link with the Republic of Serbia, because its development would take place in the definitely hostile environment of those countries whose territories the "New (Old) Serbia" actually seized as its own geopolitical base (Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina).

Through direct territorial conquest, the Greater-Serbs are trying to achieve a "normal political base," i.e., the most favorable possible territorial base for future economic development and geostrategic security. The geopolitical framework of this vital area would be along the route Belgrade-Banja Luka-Knin, but the Croatian-Muslim pressure against the corridor through Bosanska Posavina is hampering the realization of the Belgrade-Banja Luka-Knin link. Without a territorial link to the Republic of Serbia, "New Serbia" as a continentally closed country in an extremely hostile environment does not have any economic or foreign policy prospects. Consequently, to the extent that the Posavina corridor is closed, the Greater-Serbs will open the Adriatic one toward the sea.

In that respect, the Greater-Serbian attacks against northern Dalmatia are a geopolitical imperative, while not every corridor to the sea is equally valuable to them. Thus, the one toward the Karan Sea is most unfavorable, because through it the "Krajina" would have access to a worthless coast that would be approached through geostrategically sensitive passages and straits controlled by the Croats. In that respect, the port capacities and potentials of Zadar or Sibenik are incomparably more favorable, and even the "more modest" Biograd offers excellent access to the sea through the Benkovac-Kakma-Jankolovica-Biograd corridor. Everything depends on the balance of power in the field and not on any other (e.g., ethnic) criteria, and thus when the

Krajina leaders talk about "Serbian Zadar" it is foolish, but not funny, because it is not a question of ignorance, but rather a geopolitical intention—after all, even Hitler, before he came to power, explained in *Mein Kampf* what he would conquer and in what stages, but at the time it was a frivolous work.

"New Serbia's" position in a Croatian-Muslim environment would be incomparably more difficult than, for instance, Macedonia's position today, and if we leave out the ethnic aspects, in that sense it could be compared with Kurdistan's position. That is why the link between "New Serbia" and the "old" one is vitally essential, because with the lack of international recognition, the surrounding neighboring states are not obliged to provide it transportation, transit, and other economically vital services. An attempt is being made to maintain this linkage of the "Serbian lands" through Bosanska Posavina, or potentially to achieve it through a maritime (Adriatic) link. All of this is

leading to prolonged regional instability, although international recognition, unfortunately, is not a condition for the survival of "New Serbia." Like the unrecognized Northern Cyprus, which survives with Turkey's support, "New Serbia" can also exist for a long time with the support of and a link with the Republic of Serbia (the FRY). After all, even the Israeli occupation of parts of the neighboring Arab countries has been internationally condemned, but it has already lasted for decades, with systematic settlement of precisely those occupied areas. The norms of international law do not interest "New Serbia" either, because it was founded precisely on war, violence, and genocide. What its survival is vitally dependent upon, however, is geopolitical links with Serbia—land or sea links with the Greater-Serbian-oriented regime in Belgrade. The lack of one or the other means the end of "New Serbia," which they are attempting to bring to life through the old methods of great-power politics and territorial expansion.

Republican Leader Urges Revision of Land Law

AU0506152593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1330 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Arben Karapici report]

[Text] Inclusion in the present government coalition does not at all hinder the Republican Party [PR] from once more clearly expressing that it does not accept the Law on Land. The current law proceeds from the communist criteria of equality and perpetuates the expropriation reforms applied by the communist dictatorship. Republican leader Sabri Godo said in his news conference today.

Speaking to domestic and foreign reporters, Godo explained the reasons why domestic and foreign investors are being hampered. He said that these reasons should be sought in the absence of the recognition of property. The PR is accused of defending the big owners and demanding a revival of the past. Godo stressed that this is done by those who do not want to accept a fair solution, thus finding it easy to threaten the people with the scarecrow of officialdom, openly citing the Socialist Party and simultaneously expressing the same reservations about some other party that he said is their ally. According to Godo, the Land Law should be revised and approved today and not after three years when other forces will possibly come to power. The land should take its own place, so that the state can take its own place, too, because the title deeds cannot be changed according to electoral campaigns, Godo stressed.

Godo, chairman of the party that occupies the third place in the parliament, supported the hunger strikers' demands, which he found proper and in conformity with the Republican program. Godo rejected all rumors according to which the Republicans are instigating the hunger strike staged by the Property With Justice

National Association and the Former Persecutees Association. He said that the hunger strike did not start in the PR environments, but in Shkoder, adding that we should seriously commit ourselves and talk with the strikers, whether they are in Shkoder or Tirana, Lezhe, Elbasan, or Lushnje.

Godo voiced his worry to the reporters concerning the fact that deputy Mehmet Celiku has not been allowed, according to him, to speak in parliament about the hunger strike. However, Godo is waiting and hopes for the achievement of what he calls a wise solution to the strikers' demands. He told the people present that the achievement of a reasonable agreement, without violating the laws, is an urgent and noble duty.

Rapo Hajredin Danushi, chairman of the Property With Justice National Association, participated in the Republican news conference. He distributed a statement by the association presidency on the hunger strike staged by former owners.

First Currency Exchange Opens in Tirana

AU0606134093 Tirana ATA in English 1041 GMT
6 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 6 (ATA)—Alba Kredit opens the foreign currency exchange agency, according to Engjell Skenderi, main investor of the Association Alba Kredit.

The first Albanian foreign currency exchange agency centred in Tirana opened of late. This agency is one among the activities of Alba Kredit, an association of limited responsibility, in which 3 Albanian juridical persons have invested their money. Alba Kredit exercises its activity mainly in the banking, financial and service fields, concretely by exercising various cash transactions and at the same time being a counsellor on banking problems. The objective of the work of this agency is banking assistance.

Berov Concludes Visit to Macedonia*AU0706181293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Jun 93*

[Text] [Announcer] We begin the foreign news with a report from our Skopje correspondent, Martin Minkov, on Prime Minister Berov's official visit to the Republic of Macedonia, which has just ended.

[Minkov] The first official visit of a Bulgarian prime minister to the Republic of Macedonia ended with the signing of an inter-governmental economic trade agreement.

The documents were signed by the two deputy prime ministers. Prime Minister Berov's official talks with President Kiro Gligorov, with the chairman of parliament, and with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski were described as useful and specific by Mr. Berov himself.

According to Mr. Crvenkovski, the talks were meaningful and extended to all areas of interest. He also added that a high degree of agreement was reached. This applies in particular to the evaluation of the situation in the Balkans and to the necessity of adopting measures preventing the conflict from extending to the southeast.

Bulgaria confirmed its position on the Republic of Macedonia, namely the recognition of the republic, the necessity of guaranteeing its borders, and also the absence of any kind of territorial claims regarding Macedonia. As far as the claims about a so-called Macedonian minority in Bulgaria is concerned, Prof. Berov described them as a non-friendly act. He explained that the delegation that he headed had not come to deal with artificial problems inherited from Tito's Yugoslavia, but to work for everything that brings Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia closer together and unites the two countries.

A range of questions that required further talks at expert level and direct contacts between ministries and institutions was discussed. A consular agreement is being prepared, and the wish for cooperation between the two ministries of internal affairs in combating crime, drug smuggling, and terrorism was expressed. The same applies to cooperation between the ministries of defense, and cooperation in the spheres of science and culture.

Particular attention was devoted to the establishment of a transportation and communications corridor between the two countries which will also require further efforts and [word indistinct].

The question of Bulgaria granting a commodity credit for the Republic of Macedonia was submitted to the decision of the Bulgarian Government.

I think that the future level of diplomatic relations between the two countries will depend on the implementation of the good intentions which were expressed during the visit.

The Bulgarian delegation is expected to return later this evening.

BSDP Leader Praises Visit*AU0706205293 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT
7 Jun 93*

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP], praised highly the visit to Macedonia by a Bulgarian governmental delegation at a news conference today. He said "bravo" to prime Minister Lyuben Berov for his decision to make the visit. According to Dr. Dertliev, the prime minister's visit shows Mr. Berov is a statesman who sees in perspective Bulgaria and the Bulgarian ethnic community rather than a man offended at this or that.

In connection with an article in today's DUMA the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, on the informal visit by CIA Director James Woolsey and his meeting with President Zhelev, the president's foreign policy adviser present at the meeting said the speculations and suggestions in the article had nothing to do with the truth and were completely groundless, the president's Press Office reported. None of the "six points" mentioned in the article were discussed. The discussion focused on the latest developments in Belgrade, the relations between Yugoslavia and the European Community and the danger of a possible turn for the worse of the situation in the region. The president set forth and motivated the principles of Bulgaria's Balkan policy, as in many other meetings with Western political leaders. The provocative allegations spread by DUMA may have an adverse effect on Bulgaria's relations with its Balkan neighbours and may cast a shadow on Bulgarian-American friendship and cooperation, the Press Office said. The DUMA article says, among other things, "in connection with Macedonia's consent to have U.S. troops deployed on its territory, it became known that the United States have asked Bulgaria for assistance in six areas too—airports, navigation, storehouses, supply of provisions, hospitals, rehabilitation. According to an adviser to the president, the Bulgarian side thinks it would be acceptable to receive injured and sick persons for treatment and rehabilitation only."

A European Community medical mission today started a three-day inspection of areas until recently affected by foot-and-mouth [FMD] disease. The competent Bulgarian authorities said the focus of infection in Simeonovgrad (near the border with Turkey) was eliminated on June 1. The FMD virus in Simeonovgrad was of the 0-1 type, it was said at a briefing at the Agriculture Ministry today. The same virus has caused the disease in Turkey which has 581 foci of infection. It was not probably by chance that the epidemic broke out near a campsite for Turkish citizens, Efir 2 of Bulgarian Television said in its newscast, quoting data cited at the

briefing. The EC mission met with Georgi Tanev, minister of agriculture, and with the Bulgarian veterinary control authorities. The EC delegation visited Simeonovgrad, BTA's local correspondent reported. The investigation has a working hypothesis that the infection spread into the cow farm from a nearby eatery.

The Supreme Court today granted an appeal by the Prosecutor General and voided a Council of Ministers' decision of April, which revoked a decision of the previous government, headed by Filip Dimitrov, that the building of the court of law, housing the National History Museum, should be occupied by the Ministry of Justice.

More than 150 journalists and other members of the staff of the Bulgarian News Agency (BTA) categorically denied accusations that BTA is an anti-Bulgarian and propagandist-repressive institution at a meeting today. They reacted strongly against charges that BTA spreads "false and often deliberately distorted information" and that it "constantly selects and spreads all kinds of anti-Bulgarian material, denigrating Bulgaria," as the government claimed in its motives for the dismissal of BTA Director General Ivo Indzhev. The participants in the meeting confirmed their wish that BTA remain a national institution independent of the changing political situation, as it has been since its directors ceased to be appointed by politburos and secretariats. BTA's staff made this request in an open letter to President Zhelev of March 19. Mr. Indzhev has appealed to the Supreme Court to rescind the Council of Ministers' decision and the prime minister's order about his dismissal on the grounds that they were issued beyond the Council of Ministers' competence. The Supreme Court has accepted to consider the appeal.

Milan Drenchev, chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party, and Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Social Democrats, today said parliament should immediately decide that all police files should be declassified for the Bulgarian public to learn "who's who." At separate news conferences the two leaders took a strong position on the issue on which the majority in parliament imposed a veto some time ago.

In an interview for the UTRO daily of Ruse Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and former prime minister, says "30 to 35 per cent of the electorate vote SDS following the dictates of the heart." In his view, the problem is "what proportion of the electorate would vote SDS according to the dictates of reason." [passage omitted].

Velislava Gyurova M.P. of the SDS told BTA she had filed an application to leave the parliamentary SDS today. She will stay in parliament as an independent M.P. for the time being. "After it won the parliamentary, municipal and presidential elections, the biggest political force, on which millions of people placed their hopes for a better life, due to mistakes of the political body's leadership found itself in the

humiliating position of an opposition force which, unfortunately, has no say in the democratic reforms in this country," Ms. Gyurova said in the motivation part of her application. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Views Manpower Shortages

AU0806085893 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Jun 93
pp 1, 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov by Rositsa Gavrilova; place and date not given: "I Feel Pain in My Heart When Tanks and Aircraft Are Broken Up"]

[Text] [Gavrilova] Minister Aleksandrov, Bulgaria's military doctrine has provoked many debates in the leadership of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff, and disputes also arose when the doctrine was discussed at the conference in Charalitsa. Will you lift the veil of secrecy?

[Aleksandrov] The conference of senior officers and leading staff in Charalitsa discussed this document, which is indeed the first of its kind in our Army's history. Officers of the General Staff have worked on the military doctrine. I can only say that it has an applied scientific character. At this stage it remains secret, but it may be published when the comments made have been analyzed and the document has been submitted to the Supreme Military Council. The military doctrine defines concepts such as national security, military-political crisis, military danger, military threat, and so on. It also analyzes the permanent sources of military danger.

[Gavrilova] You have been accused of dismissing many generals from the Bulgarian Army for subjective and political reasons, while at the same time the cadre problem in the Army is still awaiting solution.

[Aleksandrov] The cadre problems have largely been resolved, despite the difficulty and responsibility of this task. I have indeed been accused of dismissing the generals, but so many interpretations have been made that I am unable to deal with them in detail. The fact is that 10 generals were dismissed on specific grounds that are different in each case. Many structures have also been eliminated, but I would like to stress that in no instance were subjective or political reasons involved. Some people were transferred to other, perhaps more senior posts. Two of the men dismissed became ambassadors, and one is at the moment preparing to become a military attache. As for the so-called "Lyutskanov affair" [recently dismissed Ground Forces commander], I do not want to discuss it, although it is a rather special case. I have something to say following all the stories that have been put out, but I do not want to. In my view, what is bad is not the dismissal of generals, because we have plenty of colonels, but the shortage of lieutenants. Unfortunately, the crisis that the country is in is seriously affecting the Armed Forces. At the moment about 2,000 officers' posts are vacant, which is a lot, given the present structure. Another problem is that when we introduce

the brigade-corps structure at some time in the future, we will need fewer officers. There are also shortages of noncommissioned officers and platoon and company commanders. At its last meeting the Supreme Military Council decided to announce competitions in September for promoting soldiers to sergeant, in the hope of thus solving the problem at least partially, although I am somewhat pessimistic regarding the cadre problem in the Army. No figures have yet been produced on the numbers of candidates applying to military schools this year, but I fear that the situation will be worse than last year. The Air Force and Navy will probably be kept up to strength, but this is not the case with the Ground Forces, which make up 70 percent of the Army.

[Gavrilova] Has the Law on Depoliticizing the Army not played bad jokes on you?

[Aleksandrov] Yes, indeed. When the last group of graduates from the Navy School were asked whether they were members of a political party, many of the young officers answered with a firm "Yes," which does not do them any credit. Under the law you mentioned I am obliged to release them, and they know it. The law was not drafted well, and at the moment, with the present manpower shortages in the Army, I feel its full weight on my back.

[Gavrilova] Mr. Minister, you said some time ago that you would stop making trips abroad until you had visited all the garrisons in the country.

[Aleksandrov] Unfortunately, I have been unable to do this, much as I wanted to. Recently I visited the headquarters of the First Army and the tank brigade. I was told there that good officers had submitted applications to leave the service, and that others had expressed a wish to join the special services. I saw the officers' living quarters. These living conditions are disgraceful. I described those little boxes as arrest cells. The solution to this entire problem is to find building sites and form house-building cooperatives, but our soldiers unfortunately do not have the money needed for this. I plan to make my next series of visits to individual army units—in Blagoevgrad, Plovdiv, and Sliven. By the end of July I hope to visit the main garrisons, but with all my commitments in Sofia this is becoming very difficult.

[Gavrilova] In the present tense situation throughout the Balkans, does any military danger to Bulgaria exist?

[Aleksandrov] No specific military danger exists for Bulgaria. According to the military specialists, the conflict in the former Yugoslavia is not of the classic type. They say it follows the explosive chain reaction model; that, in the event of a possible attack on Kosovo, it may lead to a chain reaction in Albania, for example. However, the information that we are receiving at the moment definitely shows, I repeat, that no specific danger exists for Bulgaria. Evidently, Serbia is not in a position to wage war on two fronts—in Bosnia and Croatia, but this does not mean that we are watching events with detachment from the sidelines.

[Gavrilova] Has Bulgaria changed its position on non-intervention in the conflict?

[Aleksandrov] There has been no change in our country's declared positions on the Yugoslav crisis. NATO also advocates nonintervention by the neighboring countries in the conflict. All these stories about granting an air corridor or other bases are absolute fabrications and only put our country in a bad light. No discussions of any such kind have been held in my office—with ambassadors or foreign ministers, or at a higher level.

[Gavrilova] Minister Aleksandrov, some time ago you announced your decision to reestablish military intelligence....

[Aleksandrov] Yes, at the moment it is a "Security" section [otdel], but in the very near future it will become an administration [upravlenie]. The number of established posts in the section will be increased. I wish to stress that well-trained young officers work there—none with a higher rank than lieutenant colonel. They are all graduates of higher military schools or a military academy. They have completed specialist courses and are well trained. The bad thing is that the military special services are attracting the intellectual elite from the rest of the Army. It is very difficult to apply the principle of rotation of posts to the special services.

[Gavrilova] Do you still feel pain in your heart when tanks are broken up?

[Aleksandrov] Yes, even now, although I console myself with the thought that now they are cutting up old tanks. The CFE Treaty document also provides possibilities for modernizing weapons, we only have to find the financial means for this. The document was adopted by the politicians and agreed with parliament, while the Army merely carries it out.

Karabashev Comments on Talks With Russia

*AU0706195493 Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT
7 Jun 93*

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—At its session, which started here today, the Bulgarian-Russian Intergovernmental Committee on Economic Cooperation discussed the state of trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and Russia. The Russian delegation is led by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Boris Fedorov and the Bulgarian delegation by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade Valentin Karabashev.

The sides share the view that the decline in trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and Russia is sharp and undesired, Mr. Karabashev told BTA. It is linked mostly to the transition of toward market economies in both countries and to developments common to all Eastern Europe. At the same time the sides share the view the two governments should make more efforts to promote the contacts among firms and economic agents, Mr. Karabashev said.

The committee discussed opportunities to set up a free trade zone, cooperation among individual ministries and new transport development projects. The scheme to set up a free trade zone, moved by the Bulgarian side, supported by Russia. The officials discussed a scheme to open a ferry service between Bulgaria and the Krasnodar Region. The sides share the view the governments can back the idea, but its implementation depends on purely commercial motives.

There are certain difficulties, but the last couple of months have seen a revival of trade and economic relations between the two countries, the leader of the Russian delegation Boris Fedorov said after today's sitting. According to him, bilateral relations have made progress over the last few months and the current session can be seen as a turning point. According to him, the

debt issue is the hardest and it will not be settled quickly. The Bulgarian Government is showing a positive attitude and a desire to seek solutions, the Russian deputy prime minister said. Mr. Karabashev said both sides display a desire to make progress on the debt problem.

These issues were also discussed at talks of the Russian delegation at the Ministry of Finance later today. Bulgaria accepts in principle the debt settlement scheme moved by the Russian side, said Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov.

Tomorrow the sides are expected to sign a protocol on trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and Russia and accords on reciprocal investment protection and the avoidance of double taxation.

Baudys Confirms Commitment to Joining NATO*AU0806133493 Prague CTK in English 1406 GMT
5 Jun 93*

[Text] Brno June 5 (CTK)—Despite the fact that the military blocs of the past no longer exist, it is still necessary to direct efforts toward the defence of the Czech Republic and the security of its territory, Defence Minister Antonin Baudys said in his opening address at the IDET military technology fair.

If anyone says that we should not seek membership in NATO, then I call upon him to set forth an alternative system for ensuring the complex security of the state, Baudys said.

He added that there were two aspects to the country's defence: Equipping the Czech Army adequately and joining the European collective security system.

He admitted that at present NATO has no plans to increase its membership, but pointed out that its development would accelerate and soon might create a need for it to expand. He said that, according to NATO's secretary general, if the alliance does expand, the Czech Republic would be among the first to be admitted.

Almost a hundred firms and companies from 14 countries are taking part in IDET '93.

Up to 120 members of the Anarchist Movement and the "Action for Animals" organisation protested today peacefully against the Army, armaments and the IDET '93 exhibition of military equipment.

During a one-hour demonstration, the participants distributed to IDET '93 visitors a written declaration pointing out that the war was mainly a big opportunity for commerce.

At the time when fighting is taking place in the Balkans and when weapons are directly deciding human fates and lives, this country opens a fair to glorify weapons, the declaration says.

Dlouhy Sees Access to European Markets as Vital*AU0706135693 Prague CTK in English 1301 GMT
4 Jun 93*

[Text] Prague June 4 (CTK)—The entry of the Czech Republic into Europe has reached a difficult stage, writes Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of industry and trade, in the Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES.

Certain representatives of the European Community talk about extending Europe from Brussels to the East. On the other hand, the development of trade between the community and the countries of Central Europe has not been encouraging. Lack of access to the markets of more

developed countries is proving to be a fundamental barrier to the economic development of the Czech Republic, says Dlouhy.

In this respect, he points out, the greatest problem for the country is not the time it will take to become a full member of the EC, but the policy of the community in the intervening period.

The first question is that of access to markets. A number of sensitive items are concerned here agricultural products, steel, textiles, and in some cases cement, agricultural machinery and so on.... The EC and other Western countries have to accept the fact that in Central Europe there exist sensitive commodities, in which the Central European countries have, and are going to have, long-term advantages, and that these commodities are neither subsidized, nor are they dumped at low prices. Quite simply, until full access is gained to Western European markets, the revival of Central European countries is blocked.

The second question concerns the adaptation of the EC and the whole of Western Europe to the reappearance of market economies such as the Czech Republic which both are and will be more and more able to compete with today's developed economies. Not only must the EC accept this competition, but the adaptation of part of its production to the more competitive conditions of Central Europe must lead to structural changes and economic reform in Western Europe as well.

The third question is the way in which Western Europe views the Visegrad group (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary—ed.) there can be no doubt that the fall in trade between the former COMECON members has had a very negative effect on the economic development and the balance of trade and payments of the countries of Central Europe. If Central Europe is limited to the countries which have been called the Visegrad Group, then it has to be concluded that either this group was formed for purely political purposes, or that it is an artifact.

If reality is not to be replaced by artifacts, then the political motive is the only one. Here much of the west would applaud, but this seems hypocritical. While political integration of the Visegrad group makes things easier for Western Europe in that there is only one partner to deal with, it is also a means for the EC of putting off the whole difficult problem for as long as possible.

Letting Visegrad become an institution also prevents those former communist countries who have undertaken more reforms from reaping the benefits of their policies in the form of more rapid access to European integration. Visegrad in its political form represents the retreat of Western European countries, who in the short term avoid the growing pressures of competition, but in the long term will be faced with the need for deeper and socially more painful political and economic reform than today, Dlouhy concludes.

LSU Party Wants LSNS To Leave Immediately

AU0706110493 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
3 Jun 93 p 3

["woll"-signed report: "The Liberal Social Union Is Waiting for Hirs' Apology"]

[Text] Prague—The leadership of the Liberal Social Union [LSU] is waiting for a public apology from Pavel Hirs, chairman of the Liberal National Social Party [LSNS], for his inconsistent and unfair conduct in the recent past, Ales Vebr, the union's press spokesman, announced at an LSU briefing yesterday.

LSU Deputy Chairman Jaroslav Vlcek regards as unacceptable any delay in the LSNS's withdrawal from the LSU. LSU Chairman Frantisek Trnka hopes that LSNS Chairman Pavel Hirs will "act honestly at least once" and will live up to his promises about leaving the union. Jaroslav Vlcek declared that the Green Party, of which he is chairman, cannot afford the "adventure" of cooperating with Pavel Hirs and said that the "Greens" had nothing to do with him. Frantisek Trnka said that the Realistic Bloc [an opposition grouping initiated by Czech Social Democratic Chairman Milos Zeman] will now have to regroup and consolidate. This process should not be rushed, however, Trnka said, because "there is no point in putting together teams that would be worse than the government." According to Trnka, representatives of the Pensioners' Movement and of the Christian Social Union have been invited to the next meeting of the Realistic Bloc.

The LSU briefing was held in the parliament building because on Monday [31 May] the LSU Office received a fax signed by K. Sokolova, the LSNS central secretary, stating that LSU news conferences could no longer be held in the LSNS building on account of its reconstruction.

Dlouhy Asserts Austrian Protectionism Growing

AU0806144293 Prague CTK in English 2005 GMT
4 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 4 (CTK)—Mutual trade relations between the Czech Republic and Austria are going through a tough period thanks to growing Austrian protectionism, Czech Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said.

Trade was the main theme of talks today between Dlouhy and the new Austrian Ambassador to the Czech Republic, Peter Niesner.

The Austrian Government is preparing to introduce anti-dumping duties that are directed against imports from the Czech lands, Czech Television (CT) news reported. After protectionist measures toward Czech cement and industrial fertilizers, these duties should limit the Czech export of agricultural machines and tractors. Dlouhy supposes that the number of these items will continue to grow.

Although the Czech Government denies the dumping charges, Dlouhy said the government was willing to discuss this problem.

Protectionist measures from Vienna could also complicate the acceptance of a new Czech-Austria agreement on economic cooperation, which Dlouhy should sign at the beginning of July with his Austrian counterpart, Wolfgang Schussle, CT reported.

I cannot precisely estimate what the reaction of our government will be when I present this agreement to them for approval... In a situation where, for example, the Austrian side introduces measures of a protectionist character, Dlouhy said.

Exporters from the Czech Republic, who already are or could in the future be harmed by Austrian protectionism, have called for the introduction of import licenses, which would reduce so-called pirate exporters.

But if the number of pirate exporters grows, he warned, the government will have to think about the introduction of these measures.

An immediate reaction, however, is called for with regard to the tractor exports, he said.

Here we must be very fierce. The situation of Brno's Zetor is universally known, it is not rosy, they are finishing talks with a foreign partner, and for Zetor it is vitally important that they hold on to a certain market, Dlouhy said.

The Austrian economy minister should accept the Czech ambassador on Tuesday, CT reported, in order to inform him about the further fate of prepared protectionist measures toward the Czech Republic.

Visa Requirement for Croats Now Unlikely

AU0706135093 Prague CTK in English 0854 GMT
4 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 4 (CTK)—The government is unlikely to introduce a visa requirement for Croats entering the Czech Republic, Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka said in the Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES, speaking about the latest version of the draft Czech visa policy.

Three weeks ago the Czech Government had announced that visas would be required by all citizens of the former Yugoslav states with the exception of Slovenia, although the requirement would not become valid without the agreement of the Slovak Government.

Originally, however, Croatia had not figured in the suggestion put before foreign and interior ministers. It was the Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus who introduced the suggestion that Croats should also need visas, said the paper's source. As justification for the amendment Klaus cited the unstable situation in Bosnia and the infringement of human rights by Croats.

However, Bratinka believes that the chief criteria for imposing visa requirements should always be the inner safety of the republic. The infringement of human rights, on the other hand, should influence the conferring of refugee status or political asylum. Visa requirements should be imposed as a measure against countries whose citizens break the laws of the Czech Republic he said.

The government has as yet made no decision concerning visa requirements for Bulgarians, said Interior Minister Jan Ruml, adding that Bulgarians at the border should be required to produce invitations or evidence of prepaid accommodation.

It has already been decided that persons travelling from Romania must have visas, although this will not come into force until September, said the ministry.

Liberal Democrats Elect New Chairman

LD0606172193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] (Martin Litomyslsky) has been elected as the new chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, whose national congress decided yesterday that the party will continue the underground struggle for its legal rights. This was announced by the outgoing party chairman, Emanuel Mandler.

The outgoing as well as the new chairman confirmed that 60-year-old Emanuel Mandler did not run for the post. (Martin Litomyslsky) was the only candidate. This 36-year-old geodetic surveyor is, like Emanuel Mandler, one of the former leaders of the Democratic Initiative which was from 1987 a part of the independent movement.

Defense Ministry Provides Data on Troop Numbers

AU0606205093 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jun 93 p 3

[“per”-signed report: “Army Is Reducing Troops and Liquidating Equipment”]

[Text] On 1 June 1993, 97,869 persons served in the Army of the Czech Republic, 8,000 fewer than at the beginning of the year. Of this, 3,760 persons served in command bodies, that is, at the Ministry of Defense, as well as in operational and support units; the ground forces had 42,962 soldiers; the air

defense troops 16,728 soldiers; and the air force 16,134 persons. Formations and facilities that are subordinate to the center had 18,285 persons. These data were supplied to reporters by the Ministry of Defense of the Czech Republic. Since the start of the liquidation of surplus military equipment last fall, 221 tanks, 235 armored personnel carriers, 460 artillery systems, and 11 combat aircraft have been destroyed.

Revised Figures Reveal Less Industrial Decline

AU0706153093 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 4 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[“(dz)”-signed report: “The Decline Was Smaller”]

[Text] Industrial output in the Czech Republic in the first quarter of the year did not decline by 8.1 percent as the figures published originally claimed; it declined by 5.7 percent. Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus made this statement yesterday with reference to the revised figures made available to the government by the Czech Statistical Office [CSU].

Ivan Sujan, managing director of the CSU section responsible for collating information, has confirmed this report for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. He said that an incorrect price index was used in connection with the transfer to a new taxation system (a more detailed explanation will be published in the CSU's regular quarterly bulletin) and this led to the mistake.

Sujan denied that there was any connection between the review and government criticism of the figures. He said that the use of an experimental indicator—according to which the decline was 2.1 percent—had prompted the review. The considerable difference between the figures, 8.1 percent and 2.1 percent, caused the CSU to ponder the reasons for it. The managing director expressed his conviction that the revised figure of 5.7 percent is closer to the mark than the previous figure. This would also correspond to the decline in the gross domestic product, which is preliminarily estimated at 2.4 percent.

Some of the figures on the republic's foreign trade development in the first quarter have also been revised. Sujan cited exports as a particular example (excluding the Slovak Republic). The figures published originally referred to a decline of 3.1 percent, while an increase of 13.7 (!) percent is recorded after the review. The managing director also said that a similar review is now under way regarding the figures for construction output.

Meciar: Issuing New Bank Notes Possible

LD0406200593 Prague CTK in English 1855 GMT
4 Jun 93

[Text] Brezno, Central Slovakia, June 4 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told a public meeting here today that after the division of the common Czechoslovak currency monetary resources were scooped from Slovakia to the Czech Republic and Slovakia had more assets than cash.

We thus said we could allow issuing new banknotes and consequently we have put into circulation 6.3 billion crowns (approximately 214 million USD), Meciar said.

This money was meant to be used for promoting employment and helping enterprises, he said, but it has remained in commercial banks, which are thus creating reserves for the period of bankruptcies.

We can allow issuing more banknotes now without fear of triggering inflation but this money ought to be put into circulation and not to remain in banks, Meciar said, adding that the government is currently discussing the issue with banks.

Slovakia has not found itself in international isolation, on the contrary we have quickly got off to a good start and 55 per cent of our exports now goes to advanced western markets, Meciar said.

He said Slovakia had stabilised its markets and for the first time in its history had an active trade balance with the Czech Republic and the latter owes to Slovakia. We are lending them and not they us, they owe more than three billion crowns (132 million USD) to us, Meciar said.

Meciar Critical of 'New Censorship' in Radio

LD0406213293 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT
4 Jun 93

[Text] Banska Bystrica, Central Slovakia, June 4 (CTK)—A new censorship is being gradually introduced in Slovak radio broadcasting, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told a public meeting today.

Radio programmes are being edited and to the detriment of the government, notwithstanding what the truth is, he said.

Though we are talking about independent or subsidised public service organisations they still remain private public service institutions, Meciar said. It is not policy we have wanted to pursue and we will have to deal with this quite radically, he said, reacting to the question how long Slovak television will put up with humorist Markovic.

Meciar said that it was not Markovic who was in question but the management of the television who pays Markovic dearly and from the state coffers. The head of this fish stinks, Meciar said, alluding to a Slovak proverb, and they should be put under a spotlight, Meciar said. The same situation is at the radio, he added.

Kovac Meets With Pope During Visit to Italy

LD0706155293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Vera Gregorova by telephone from Rome—live]

[Excerpts] Good morning from Rome. The official part of the working visit of our state and government delegation in Italy began with the meeting between President Michal Kovac and Italian Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi. During their talks they devoted their attention in particular to bilateral issues concerning both states. [passage omitted]

After the ceremonial welcome in the Vatican courtyard, Pope John Paul II received President Michal Kovac at a private audience in the Pope's library which lasted about 30 minutes. Only afterward were other members of the delegations and journalists allowed to come in. In his speech Pope John Paul II voiced his pleasure at meeting the Slovak president. He recalled the date in the ancient history of Slovaks when they adopted Christianity and culture from the hands of St. Cyril and Methodius. At the same time, he wished Slovakia prosperity and further spiritual advancement.

In a message to Pope John Paul II, President Kovac described the official state visit of Slovakia to the Vatican as an important historical milestone. The president recalled that Christian tradition was not only a matter of the past but that it is permanently fixed in the present and in modern Slovak history and is highlighted in the programs of the majority of political parties and movements. The president assured the Pope that Slovakia wants to have good relations with all states and wants to contribute to stabilization in the central European region. Furthermore, he gave assurances of all-around contributions to intensifying relations between the state and the Catholic Church in our republic and between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See. President Kovac then invited Pope John Paul II to visit Slovakia.

Meanwhile, Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta and Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik signed a treaty on friendship and cooperation, which proceeds from the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This treaty is important for us, because Italy has an important position for our country in North-South relations. When I talked with our foreign minister he voiced the conviction that favorable political prerequisites will be created for cooperation with Italy concerning cooperation within the Central European Initiative. [passage omitted]

Holds Meeting With Italian Prime Minister

LD0706162293 Prague CTK in English 1454 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Rome, June 7 (CTK)—By the Slovak representatives' working visit to Italy, we want to make it clear for the world, where the Slovak republic is heading for,

Slovak President Michal Kovac said today at a meeting with Italian Premier Carlo Ciampi.

Kovac stressed that Slovakia was interested in the two countries' good cooperation, mainly in the economy.

Slovakia is interested in joining the European political, economic and security structures and favours mainly good cooperation within the Visegrad four (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia). If the policy of reforms is successful in the Visegrad group member countries, it would be a significant impulse and example for Ukraine and Russia, he added.

Slovakia is also interested in closer cooperation within the Central European Initiative (CEI, comprised of Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia), Kovac underlined.

He said he fully understood Italy's internal political problems, but he believed that once they are settled, Italy will again fulfil its tasks within the CEI.

Kovac is also convinced that the association agreement with the European Community (EC), which has been signed between the EC and former Czechoslovakia (in December 1991), will be signed with its successor states as well within the shortest possible time.

In order not to end up finding itself in a security vacuum, Slovakia is striving for association with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and for cooperation with all EC countries in the security field, Kovac said.

Referring to the Slovak-Hungarian relations, he said that after the controversial problem of the Gabčíkovo waterworks (on the Danube) had been submitted to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, nothing bars the two-countries' relations from improving.

Slovakia is interested in a satisfactory solution to the problem of ethnic minorities, Kovac added. (About 600,00 ethnic Hungarians live in Slovakia).

Foreign Ministers' Initial Treaty

*LD0706164693 Prague CTK in English 1605 GMT
7 Jun 93*

[By CTK correspondent]

[Text] Rome June 7 (CTK)—The foreign ministers of Italy and Slovakia, Beniamino Andreatta and Jozef Moravcik, today initialled a treaty concerning good relations and cooperation between Italy and the Slovak Republic.

Moravcik is accompanying the Slovak president, Michal Kovac, on his three-day official visit to Italy, where he arrived on Sunday.

A similar treaty between Italy and the former Czechoslovakia, together with agreements concerning the protection of investments and on industrial and technological cooperation was not ratified by the Italian

parliament before the Czechoslovak Federation broke up five months ago. Thus the agreements could not be transferred to either of the two newly-created states.

Part of the renegotiated text of the treaty is that Slovakia accepts all bilateral agreements and treaties between the former Czechoslovakia and Italy. Two due for amendment concern the employment of Slovak citizens in Italy and air transport.

After ratification by the parliaments of both countries the treaty will become the first of its kind to be concluded by the independent Slovak Republic.

Polish Defense Minister Meets With Meciar

*LD0706165393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 7 Jun 93*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] After the collapse of the Warsaw Treaty the majority of the former European socialist states have been endeavoring to achieve integration in international structures within the framework of the all-European security system. It appears that activities within the framework of the Visegrad four [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Poland] countries are developing most promisingly. After the recent visit to Slovakia by Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur, Slovakia is currently playing host to Polish Minister of National Defense Janusz Onyszkiewicz. Although the Polish delegation's visit has been spread over four days its program is very full. Our reporter Igor Skocek, who was at Janusz Onyszkiewicz's audience with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar today, has more details.

[Skocek] After its arrival yesterday, the Polish delegation was given an official welcome early this morning by Imrich Andrejcek, Slovak defense minister. Afterward, Janusz Onyszkiewicz had talks with Lieutenant General Julius Humaj, commander of the Slovak Army. The audience with Prime Minister Meciar was attended, apart from the Polish defense minister, by Polish Deputy Defense Minister Jan Kuriata, and Jerzy Korolec, Polish charge d'affairs in Bratislava. At a brief news conference Janusz Onyszkiewicz had this to say about the talks that just ended:

[Begin recording] [Onyszkiewicz, in Polish fading into Slovak translation] I am above all pleased that I was able to personally meet Prime Minister Meciar, about whom a great deal has been said in Poland. At the same time, I am pleased that we have been able to talk about future cooperation between our two countries. There is a will on both sides to develop mutual relations further, because they have not yet reached a desirable level. I am

ready to cooperate within the framework of my department, that is, on the issues of defense. The implementation of the existing projects between Poland and former Czechoslovakia has continued chiefly with the Czech side. This is why it was essential to also intensify relations with the Slovak Republic. We have expressed hope that a visit by Minister Skubiszewski will result in the creation of structures that will facilitate working contacts. It was only natural that we should have discussed bilateral cooperation. This, however, is an area that calls for further impulses. The whole time we said that such bilateral cooperation will be carried out within the framework of cooperation among the four countries forming the Visegrad group. [end recording]

[Skocek] The Polish defense minister reminded Slovak journalists that the Polish Army has always enjoyed high esteem among the population. At the close, I asked Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to assess the talks that have just been concluded.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] After the division of Czechoslovakia a situation arose as if the successor to cooperation with Poland was the Czech Republic. This is why we had to clarify the intentions of the Slovak Republic and our endeavor to achieve closer relations in all aspects—in the economy, tourism, the opening of frontiers, opening border crossings, building the infrastructure, and, of course, the issues of defense. Apart from bilateral relations, the Slovak Republic also attaches a great deal of importance to multilateral relations mainly within the framework of the Visegrad four. We are in favor of intensifying cooperation among all four countries. We have already succeeded in shaping the understanding of the Visegrad four as a group of states which has certain prerequisites for achieving integration. If these prerequisites are to be fulfilled it will be necessary to change the internal mechanism of cooperation to make it more intensive and coordinated. The Slovak Republic supports this. We expressed unequivocally our willingness to proceed along this road.

Our Army is unpolitical. This means that all arguments among political parties are outside it. The Army represents a stable, organized section of our society, and goodwill displayed toward it by the population therefore represents, logically, a certain (?sum) of stability and respect for the level of organization of the Army. Moreover, in Slovakia this is multiplied by the fact that this is the first Army of the Slovak Republic which came into existence in Slovakia in a democratic way. The Army enjoys the sympathies of people. It has cut by half a year compulsory military service. Wherever it goes it brings with itself revival and investment. People want to have security in uncertain times. They seek in the activity of the armed forces, among other things, a guarantee of their security. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Meets With Minister Andrejcek

LD0706180493 Prague CTK in English 1652 GMT
7 Jun 93

[Text] Bratislava, June 7 (CTK)—Slovak-Polish cooperation in the defence area was the main topic discussed by the Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcek with Polish Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, currently on a three-day visit to Slovakia.

The two ministers stated that their countries' cooperation in the field of defence should be up-graded, Andrejcek's spokesman Anton Fillo told CTK. It should continue mainly within the Visegrad four (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia), Fillo said.

The ministers also discussed the idea of establishing a joint Slovak-Polish training camp for the two countries' UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] soldiers and U.N. peacekeeping forces, as well as possible cooperation in the field of arms industry, Fillo said. This would concern mainly military repair plants, located on the two republics' territories and currently offering surplus capacities, he added.

A joint working group to deal with details is to be set up during the visit, Fillo said.

On Tuesday, Onyszkiewicz is to visit the Kosice, east Slovakia, air force university and address the Slovak Army's top commanding officers in Trencin, west Slovakia. At the close of his visit on Wednesday, he is to meet with Slovak Parliament Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska and conclude his talks with the Slovak Defence Ministry's representatives.

Kubecka Signs Trade Agreement With Russia

AU0806103193 Prague CTK in English 1206 GMT
4 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 4 (CTK correspondent)—A payment and trade agreement between Slovakia and Russia for this year was signed in Moscow today by Slovak Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka at the close of his three-day visit to Russia.

Kubecka held talks with First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Lobov, who is in charge of the Ministry of Economy, Foreign Trade Minister Sergey Glazyev, Minister of Fuel and Power Engineering Yury Shafranik, Minister of Atomic Energy Viktor Mikhailov and with representatives of the Committee for Defense Industry.

Kubecka also signed an agreement on cooperation between the Slovak and Russian Economy Ministries.

Slovakia had a deficit balance in trade with Russia in 1992. While Russian imports to Slovakia amounted to \$1.2 billion, Slovak exports reached only \$340 million.

Slovakia wants to raise the number of its trade delegates in Russia which is relatively large but not sufficient for the vast opportunities on the Russian market.

Russian representatives offered Slovakia a variety of investment opportunities. They are interested especially in light construction frames, apartment construction, small food processing factories and Slovakia's participation in the modernization of oil and gas pipelines.

On Russia's debt to Slovakia (\$1.5 billion), which amounts to one third of the debt owed to the former Czechoslovakia, Kubecka said that there are proposals to resolve it gradually.

We bear in mind that Russia has not enough means to liquidate the claims fast. So we are considering a large array of possibilities of repayment of the debt over a longer period, stated Kubecka.

[Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 5 June on page 2, in a similar report under the headline "Interest in Our Investments" adds: "One of the treaties (to be signed) was the purchase and return of the spent nuclear fuel to Russia. The signing did not take place because, as Kubecka said, a presidential decree is in effect in Russia banning any imports of nuclear waste to the country. The draft treaty is ready, and the Slovak side, I believe, will advocate its adoption justifying it by a similar treaty between the USSR and the CSFR signed in the 1970's."]

Comments on Oil Supplies From Russia

LD0406213993 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network
in Slovak 2020 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Slovak Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka ended his three-day working visit to the Russian Federation today. He held talks there with representatives of five economic ministries. After a news conference at the Slovak Embassy, he granted an interview to our Moscow correspondent, Otto Nitman:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Nitman] You spoke with Russian Fuel and Energy Minister Shafranik. Shall we have enough oil and gas?

[Kubecka] I expressed our republic's interest in permanent cooperation and permanent gas and oil supplies from the Russian Federation. I think the Russian side

took this into account as a good attitude since there has been various information, so common in this branch, that was not pleasant for one or the other side. We even agreed there is a possibility for cooperation in this field on a much wider basis, that the Russian side will also offer the possibility of joint investment in various projects for the restructuring of oil and gas pipelines, compressor stations, and other technically very complex equipment.

[Nitman] We are buying oil and gas in Russia. It flows, however, through Ukraine. Recently there have been disputes between Russia and Ukraine. Ukraine did not want to pay for the gas and Russia threatened to turn off oil supplies. If such a situation arise in the future, would we be affected?

[Kubecka] I think there is no imminent danger of that since no government, not even Ukrainian, would let the guarantees for the transportation of oil to other territories slip out of its hands. That is why some of the disputes have been resolved and I think there is no threat of new disputes in the near future. [end recording]

U.S. Consulate Bugging Investigation Resumes

AU0506123893 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 3 Jun 93 p 1

["mhc"-signed report: "Investigation of 'Bugging Affair' Resumed"]

[Text] Bratislava— As is well-known, the investigation of the "bugging affair" was suspended because our authorities did not receive sufficient evidence from the American side to warrant the conclusions arrived at by our partners [that the bugging devices uncovered in the building of the former U.S. consulate in Bratislava were operating long after the November 1989 revolution]. As we have been informed by Colonel Ctibor Kostal, LL.D., deputy general prosecutor and chief military prosecutor of the Slovak Republic, the investigation into the unauthorized use of technical intelligence devices in the building of the former U.S. Consulate was resumed on 28 May, on the basis of the position of the Slovak Republic National Council and evidence supplied by the U.S. Embassy in Bratislava. Because the American and Slovak sides have agreed not to publish any details prior to the conclusion of the investigations, we will have to wait for approximately another month for more information.

Antall Expects To Preserve Majority

AU0706152593 Budapest MTI in English 1823 GMT
4 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, 4 June (MTI)—The Hungarian Government can preserve its supporting majority in Parliament, said Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in an interview on the evening news program of Hungarian Television on Friday [4 June].

The program also featured interviews with the ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF's] Acting President Sandor Lezsak and Parliamentary Group Leader Imre Konya.

"The MDF's internal crisis is the last stage of a long process, and after settling the problems now, the governing coalition can be strengthened for the 1994 elections," said Jozsef Antall, chairman of the party.

Speaking about an MDF National Board meeting scheduled for this weekend, Sandor Lezsak said the basic question is whether the MDF is capable of taking the responsibility of governing, whether the party can gather active strength behind the policy outlined at the sixth national congress, and whether it can preserve unity.

Konya said MDF deputies expelled from the parliamentary group earlier in the week will probably be followed by a few supporters, but this will leave government work unaffected.

In 1990, the MDF took the responsibility of leading a country out of a crisis and to the path of European progress, Konya said. "If the MDF regains unity, it will again be that multicolored centrist party of very strong national responsibility, which is capable of leading the nation despite difficult conditions," he said.

Antall rejected suppositions that the MDF, which came into power in 1990, might have shifted from its original policy. "This is the Hungarian Democratic Forum that won the elections in 1990," he said, and added the MDF changed only so much as its policy has been affected by political and historical reality, as have all political parties and policies.

Further, Antall spoke out against any group monopolizing the three systems of values within the MDF: national liberalism, Christian democracy, and national populism. He also cited historical examples for relations between the extreme right and the extreme left. He firmly assured everyone that, if necessary, a change of government will be carried out under constitutional conditions.

Answering a question, he said the present Parliament is unable to set up a better coalition, since there is no force more homogeneous than the present governing coalition. Cooperation within the opposition is hardly feasible, while the dissolution of parliament would not be useful to anyone, except political groupings outside parliament.

Antall Says Party Unity Restored in MDF

LD0606172293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] At the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] National Board session [President] Jozsef Antall stressed that they have managed to create a framework of party unity through the latest decisions relating to personnel. Our correspondent also reported the fact that Istvan Csurka is going to set up a new parliamentary group. Robert Richard Kis reports from Balatonföldvár [western Hungary].

[Kis] Our aim is to maintain Hungary's governability and the country's ability to function up until 1994; the present decisions of the National Board have greatly contributed to this. This was said by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall after the meeting's participants had pledged their support for Finance Minister Ivan Szabo's economic program to boost investments and proposed that the supplementary budget be adopted.

In connection with the personnel decisions of the National Board the prime minister said: The sixth national session of the MDF has determined the limits of party unity, and those who will not accept these have to quit. The case of Istvan Csurka, Istvan Balas, Izabella Kiraly B. and Gyula Zacsak [national-populist MDF deputies] will be investigated by the party's Disciplinary and Ethics Committee. This, as Jozsef Antall has pointed out, does not mean that the MDF will retreat from its basic values, whether these are national-populist, liberal, or Christian Democratic ideals. In any case, we have settled the internal party disputes and from now on we will not allow our attention to be diverted from issues of national importance, the prime minister added.

According to Imre Konya [MDF parliamentary group leader] the period from August [August 1992 when Istvan Csurka's controversial paper was published] is the period of the party's rebirth and the MDF is united again.

Finance Minister Ivan Szabo was of the view that it was reassuring that even those who had voted against the disciplinary investigation against Istvan Csurka and his associates supported him in certain economic issues. Thus they will probably cooperate with the government.

HDF Board Asks Csurka To Leave Party

LD0606170093 Budapest MTI in English 1536 GMT
6 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] National Board asked Istvan Csurka to leave the party and called upon the Ethics and Disciplinary Committee to try MPs [members of parliament] expelled from the party's parliamentary group on June 1, under resolutions passed at dawn on Sunday, party spokesman Karoly Herenyi reported.

One resolution, passed with 85 votes for, 28 against and six abstentions, affects former MPs Istvan Balas, Istvan Csurka, Izabella Kiraly B. [name as received] and Gyula Zacssek. The two further MPs expelled from the parliamentary group, national liberals Jozsef Debreczeni and Istvan Elek announced on June 1 that they were suspending their membership in the HDF, while maintaining their political principles.

In the resolution, the board assured the coalition government of its support, saying the main direction of government and legislation realized the policy of national renewal, based on the programme of the HDF.

According to the resolution, the National Board refuses to tolerate attacks by HDF members at the policy of their own party. Anyone rejecting the main trend of government and blocking legislative work acts counter to the statement adopted at the HDF's 6th national congress.

Under the other resolution, since over the past nine months, Istvan Csurka has launched a political organization separate from the HDF, under the name "Hungarian Way" and with a programme different from that of the party, the National Board asked him to leave the HDF.

The board warned party members that membership implies accepting all basic values upheld by the HDF.

Foreign Trade Minister Views Exports

AU0406185693 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 4 Jun 93 pp 1, 6

[Interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Bela Kadar Is Worried About the Budget Deficit—The Hysterical Mood Is Further Hindering Hungary's Export Positions"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Bossanyi] Some not entirely favorable declarations have been made in recent weeks by government politicians, opposition members, and foreign experts about Hungary's political stability and the state of the Hungarian economy. How could all this affect the people's willingness to invest and the development of foreign economic relations?

[Kadar] In the past three years, the attitude of various investors has been greatly affected by the image that Hungary is the most stable country in the region, a country where economic management policy also refrains from taking irrational steps. Therefore, declarations recently coming from various sides of the political spectrum concern me, declarations that seem to be irresponsible and are capable of making domestic and foreign business circles lose confidence. Naturally, all this does not benefit our foreign economic relations. I think that, in many respects, this hysterical mood is harming the international view of the Hungarian economy, Hungarian restructuring, and Hungary's future.

[Bossanyi] Is it the case that the situation has actually deteriorated, and the various declarations reflect this deterioration?

[Kadar] Undeniably, we are witnessing phenomena in our economy that are more disadvantageous than expected. This partly derives from the world economic recession, the political destabilization of this entire region and, last but not least, from the fact that our budget deficit is larger than planned.

Unfortunately, we could already count on an increase in the deficit following the decision of parliament. Earlier hopes of economic growth were not substantiated. More precisely, if we had made use of the possibilities of export-led growth earlier, exports would have not dropped to such an extent.

[Bossanyi] To what extent has this drop in exports increased the budget deficit?

[Kadar] It is difficult to give an exact estimate. A 1-percent drop in exports could mean a loss of \$100 million of exports, something that could cause a drop of 10 billion forints in revenue. This is the equivalent of one three-thousandth of GDP.

[Bossanyi] These are very large figures, particularly if we compare them with the extent of the deficit. Why did the government fail to act in time when it realized the drop in exports?

[Kadar] I think that many people continue to be prisoners of their own economic policy illusions, and they do not face the realities. A statistical "war" is being waged, namely that the drop in exports is not so great, the causes mainly lie in the drought, and that economic growth has already begun. All this while we are now witnessing a general deterioration in competitiveness. A system of credits and guarantees essential for export incentives has failed to materialize, investment is modest, investors do not get the advantages that are customary all over the world, and the exchange rate policy does not contribute to the expansion of competitive exports. [passage omitted]

[Bossanyi] What is your opinion about the debates on the supplementary budget and next year's budget in terms of incentives for exports?

[Kadar] The high deficit is withdrawing additional resources from the implementation of a venture-accelerating and export-incentive economic policy, while the drop in revenue from exports continues to harm the budget position. This is a trap, and every responsible political force should work together to avoid it. [passage omitted]

Ministry Prepares Measures To Alleviate Drought
AU0706174993 Budapest MTI in English 1455 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, 4 June (MTI)—Unless there is at least 60 millimeter of rainfall within a fortnight, Hungary may face a more severe drought this year than in 1992, officials of the Ministry of Agriculture told the press here on Thursday [3 June].

Agronomists predict that a shortage of rainfall will result in wheat yields falling below last year's average of 4.06 tonnes per hectare. Although there are irrigation facilities for 400,000 hectares in Hungary, only about 50,000 hectares are actually irrigated.

Fertilizer use is also falling short of the soil requirements. Last year only 30 to 40 kilograms, mainly nitrogen-based fertilizers were applied per hectare of land, as opposed to the optimum of 100 kilograms of mixed fertilizers.

The Ministry of Agriculture has already prepared a package to alleviate the effects of the drought. Suggested measures include a cut in irrigation rates, a rescheduling of loans for agricultural enterprises, and a reduction in land tax.

Companies Protest Hardship Caused by Embargo
LD0806125693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] The embargo ordered against the rump Yugoslavia put several Hungarian companies into a difficult

situation. Leaders of the Danube Ironworks, Mahart [Hungarian shipping company], and the Diosgyoer Steelworks assessed the damage thus far and published it. Krisztina Antalffy reports;

[Antalffy] The total economic embargo imposed by the United Nations against the rump Yugoslavia back in April created a grave situation in the Hungarian metallurgical industry, in the related industrial branches, and in shipping, which requires immediate governmental and diplomatic measures. This is how the briefing of leaders of the affected companies can be summed up.

During the past month and a half, traffic has virtually stopped on the Danube. As a result of this, Hungarian companies' ability to function, based on using the waterway, is impaired. The damage to the Danube Ironworks is a billion, the Diosgyoer Steelworks' is 400 million, and the Mahart's is 500 million forints, so far. The companies affected urge immediate measures in the interest of restarting shipping on the Danube and compensation for the damages resulting from the embargo. They do not consider it acceptable that innocent Hungarian companies should pay the price of the UN resolution while the embargo itself does not achieve its objective. At the same time, the Hungarian company leaders object to the fact that officials, so far, only gave promises regarding the necessary market protection steps, but steel industrial products are arriving into our country without control, mainly from the Slovak and Czech markets.

Solidarity Mazowsze Chapter Criticizes Walesa*AU0706160193 Warsaw PAP in English 1136 GMT
5 Jun 93*

[Text] Warsaw, June 5—The second round of the congress of delegates of the Solidarity trade union, Mazowsze chapter, started in Warsaw today to discuss the current political situation in Poland and the union's strategy in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

On opening the debates, head of Solidarity's Mazowsze chapter Maciej Jankowski stressed the need for the delegates to adopt a stand on the police intervention during Friday's [4 June] demonstration of the centre-right parties in Warsaw marking the anniversary of recalling the Jan Olszewski government. He termed the police action as an "attempt against democracy."

Jankowski claimed that the union should actively participate in parliamentary elections given the current political situation. He said that the new electoral law infringes the constitution and is "conducive to building the oligarchic system."

The Mazowsze chapter obliged its delegates to the union's forthcoming national congress to make a critical evaluation of Lech Walesa's presidency following his failure to keep promises made during the presidential campaign in 1990.

According to the Mazowsze chapter of Solidarity, President Walesa does not respect workers communities, utters warnings to the union and supports successive governments which, in the chapter's opinion, pursue damaging socioeconomic policy. "We treat this as departure from the ideals of August, 1980 and as disloyalty to the union's social movement," the meeting said in a statement.

The Mazowsze chapter also condemned the "brutal and provocative action by police forces" during the Friday demonstration staged in Warsaw by four opposition parties under the slogan of vetting, and blamed president Lech Walesa, the Hanna Suchocka cabinet and Warsaw's authorities for the incidents.

The unionists demanded punishment for those guilty of the Friday action directed "against democratic processes and peaceful course of reformatory processes in Poland."

According to the meeting, the new electoral law, recently adopted by the Sejm (lower house), fails to settle the question of society's representation in a future parliament. "The creation of a stable programmatic coalition requires majority elections," the meeting said in a statement.

The first round of the Mazowsze Solidarity congress was held in Warsaw on February 27.

Kaczynski Protests Police 'Provocation' at Demonstration*AU0706135293 Warsaw PAP in English 1930 GMT
4 Jun 93*

[Text] Warsaw, June 4—Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski said at a Friday [4 June] press conference, held shortly after the Friday "March on the Belweder" (presidential residence), said that the police attempted provocation and, apparently, they had orders to behave aggressively.

Leader of the Movement of the Third Republic of Poland Jan Parys estimated the number of demonstrators at over 30 thousand. He compared the riot police used on Friday to the Gestapo and NKVD, while former senator Zbigniew Romaszewski said he had eyewitnessed an actual police attempt of provocation during the demonstration.

In an interview for Radio Free Europe, leader of the Movement for the Republic of Poland Jan Olszewski said that he did not take part in the demonstration because he had already expressed his attitude a year ago, on June 4, 1992, (when his government stepped down.)

"My sympathy was with the demonstrators," he declared and added: "I do not take part in any marches on the Belweder."

Coalition Issues Statement of Support for Government*LD0406195593 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT
4 Jun 93*

[Text] Warsaw, June 4—Representatives of the government coalition parties Friday [4 June] declared their support for the main directions of the government's activity in the months preceding the parliamentary elections as outlined by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on June 3.

The coalition parties announced that "in the face of destructive demagoguery that can threaten the existence of the democratic system" they will centre during the election campaign on the defence of the hitherto direction of state and economic reforms. Only the continuation of reforms can lead to the development of the country and improvement in the situation of Polish society, the coalition parties declared in a specially issued statement.

The statement also stressed that the government coalition parties "have recognized as a most important fact" President Lech Walesa's declaration in favour of the defence of the road of reforms.

The statement was signed by Donald Tusk on behalf of the Liberal Democratic Congress, Wieslaw Chrzanoski on behalf of the Christian National Union, Aleksander Hall of the Conservative Party, Janusz Steinhoff of the

party of Christian Democrats, Jozef Slisz of the Peasant Christian Party and Tadeusz Mazowiecki on behalf of the Democratic Union.

Suchocka Addresses European Agricultural Committee

LD0806104793 Warsaw PAP in English 1031 GMT
8 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 8—Seeking ways of gradual and rational opening of borders is a far better method to benefit from the free international trade than unexpected customs or veterinary wars. Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said at a meeting of the Agriculture Committee of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly held in Warsaw on Tuesday [8 June].

The prime minister added that the Polish agricultural policy aims to restructure the countryside to make farmers' products competitive on foreign markets. The second goal includes creating new jobs in rural areas and their economic development.

Finance Ministry Prepares Long-Term Forecast

LD0706212293 Warsaw PAP in English 2103 GMT
7 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 7—According to a long-term forecast for Poland's economic development prepared by the Finance Ministry inflation will be reduced to 3.5 per cent and the value of the zloty against the U.S. dollar will increase by 7 per cent in the year 2005.

The Finance Ministry also predicts that in 2005 the foreign debt servicing figure will exceed 6 billion dollars which Poland will be able to pay owing to economic growth, foreign investments and credits as well as a trade surplus.

The value of imports is expected to reach 38.4 billion dollars and of exports about 42.2 billion dollars. Foreign investments are likely to amount to 1.5 billion dollars while foreign credits to 2.1 billion dollars.

According to the forecast, which covers the period until the year 2008, a 20 per cent inflation is likely to persist in the 3-4 years to come. Later on it is expected to diminish to 15 per cent annually and to start dropping systematically.

The Gross Domestic Product is expected to grow by 4 per cent in 1994 and by 5 per cent in 1995. Simultaneously it is estimated that the budget deficit will be diminishing by about 0.5-1 per cent annually.

The flow of foreign credits and foreign investment depends on the continuation of reforms and Poland's creditworthiness among international financial institutions, the Finance Ministry states in its forecast stressing the need for the second stage of the reduction of debts owed to western governments, planned for 1994, as well as for a conclusion of a reduction agreement on debts owed to commercial banks grouped in the London Club.

The ministry predicts that in 1994 Poland will be able to spend 2 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product or 2 billion dollars on debt servicing while in the years 2004-2008 it will spend 4 per cent of the GDP. Debt payments should reach the amount of 2.5 billion dollars in 1997, exceed 4 billion dollars in the year 2000 and increase to 8 billion dollars by 2008.

Following last week's talks with experts of the London Club of creditors Poland is expecting concrete proposals from commercial banks concerning the reduction of its 12-billion dollar debt to them.

SLD Leader on Prospective Political Scenario

WS0406115093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish
0615 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Studio interview with Chairman of the Union of Democratic Left Aleksandr Kwasniewski, by moderator Andrzej Woyciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] Today is 4 June, a very symbolic date. We keep forgetting about it. Each successive anniversary is less pompous, less festive, and less talked about. Do you remember what you were doing four years ago on 4 June?

[Kwasniewski] I remember this perfectly well. It was a very important date from my point of view, and I remember it well. I was in Warsaw on Election Day in 1989. I voted in Warsaw, and I was a candidate in Koszalin. Monday, 5 June was a day filled with emotion. We were receiving reports from voivodships which showed that we were witnessing a peaceful revolution. Solidarity was winning almost everything, while the coalition made up of the Polish United Workers Party, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party was losing.

[Woyciechowski] You also lost then.

[Kwasniewski] I lost, but I had a feeling of satisfaction....

[Woyciechowski] Do you remember who beat you then?

[Kwasniewski] It was Mr. Madej and Mrs. Slodzinska, both from Solidarity. However, I had a feeling of satisfaction because, having won some 90,000 votes, I was the leader among those who lost. This was the best result—almost 40 percent of the votes in the Senate elections. I thought that 4 June was the opening of a new era, and it was in a way. It seemed that this era would last a long time. I remember conversations held in strict privacy when optimists were predicting 10 years and pessimists were predicting entire generations....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] They were predicting a decade of Solidarity rule?

[Kwasniewski] Yes, and I think that people from Solidarity circles must be disappointed and wondering why everything changed so fast. I want to remind you that the 1989 elections, also not fully democratic, enjoyed a much higher turnout than any elections held later, presidential or parliamentary. This was a kind of 1989 plebiscite for and against the administration. Undoubtedly, Solidarity held a great deal of social capital then. After four years, we are in a situation in which no one is sure of his assets. However, no one will be using the Solidarity banner any more.

[Woyciechowski] Is Solidarity rule in Poland gone forever? Have these four years become a turning point?

[Kwasniewski] I do not even have to shape these formulas. I can simply quote Deputy Pietrzyk, who says that no future government will have the right to call itself a Solidarity government. The conflict between the Solidarity trade union and Solidarity's political elite is convincing proof that its entire structure is becoming weaker. About a year ago, Solidarity helped form a government, and ten months later it overturned the government. You can even notice a change in the street. I remember how many people were wearing Solidarity pins. Now who is wearing them, even among the Solidarity leadership? Grave mistakes have been made. I would put it this way: Solidarity walked out on its commitments to the people. When people were joining Solidarity, they believed that something would finally rest in their hands. After four years, they realized that they have as little influence on the course of events as they did before. Some people even say that the average man has even less influence than before 1989. When this man went on strike at that time, there was some kind of response. Today, he can go on long and passionate strikes with little result. The erosion of Solidarity is plain to see. Wars waged in high places time and again must have contributed to this, as well as the lack of results from the government's activity. I do appreciate all the positive changes, and I will not stoop to the level of saying that we, the Social Democrats, are rejecting everything that happened after 1989. This is not correct. Yet, we are dealing with a political reality. The Solidarity camp has evidently exhausted its resources.

[Woyciechowski] If the events continue developing in the same direction over the next four years, do you think the SLD will win the next elections?

[Kwasniewski] In my opinion, there are two patterns of the development of events in Poland over the next years. One of them is very negative. It would mean that we would be continuously drifting toward total chaos. In this case, no future elections would bring unequivocal winners or movements with victorious programs. At that point, we would have to live from day to day, and government crises will occur so often that we would get used to them. The amorphous and scattered political stage will last. There can be eight or six large factions, but this will still be a very diversified political stage. This will limit both the economic potential of the state and its

international reliability. This would be the worst version. I think that it can become real in case the historical factor is still applied in politics, that of pre-1989 divisions. I mean, who was on whose side then....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] You mean the basic division in post-Solidarity and postcommunist....

[Kwasniewski, interrupting] Yes, and as long as we stick to the historical division, we will be threatened by this murky future. The other version is also very real, and I am doing my best to make it come to life. I think a lot of people in Poland are doing this. This other version stipulates consolidating political divisions and rejecting previous separations in the name of solving the burning issues of today and tomorrow.

[Woyciechowski] But there must be some divisions, after all.

[Kwasniewski] Yes, there are divisions. I personally believe that at present, parties have every right to differ in their concept of a state—whether it be religious or secular. It is also natural that there be a division among advocates of a market economy combined with elements of state interventionism—something which we stand for—and those who allow absolutely no room for state interventionism.

[Woyciechowski] Something that, for example, the KLD [Liberal Democratic Congress] stands for?

[Kwasniewski] Well, I have to admit that the Liberals have made certain progress here. They are not the same as they used to be three years ago.

[Woyciechowski] In this case, there is only Mr. Korwin-Mikke [leader of Union for Realpolitik] left.

[Kwasniewski, laughing] Yes, Korwin-Mikke with his concepts, and perhaps some liberals who still believe in the miraculous force of an invisible hand of the market rather than government institutions. An essential division also lies in the attitude toward social security reform and ways of implementing it—that is, how far-reaching should the state's commitments be in this sphere, and how much should depend on an employee's choice. There will be differences in the approach to the problems of agriculture, agricultural produce subsidies, protection of agriculture, as well as its structural changes. The PSL [Polish Peasants' Party] and other peasants' parties, pressing for preservation of the present situation, will clash with those who want to treat agriculture as tourism or any other branch of industry. In my opinion, all the debates should be focused on essential topics. In this case, the political scene will become more and more stable. This process will be accelerated by economic transformation resulting in the expansion of the private sector, which will gradually push aside the state sector. At present, the situation is complicated by the hodgepodge of big and small capital, and the angry unemployed and peasants. I think, however, that in four or

five years, the political scene will become much more transparent, enhancing the efficiency of the government institutions.

[Woyciechowski] I would like to return to the divisions among the parties. It seems that their roots go back to a historically primitive division between the left and right wings.

[Kwasniewski] I agree that they are historical, but not primitive. If you answer the questions that I have just outlined, those divisions will immediately stand out. A secular state, a market economy with strong social insurance system—this is what the left-wing principles are all about.

[Woyciechowski] On which side, left or right, will the political scales tip in the nearing elections?

[Kwasniewski] In general terms, they will tip in favor of greater state responsibility for what is happening in the country; and in this sense, the right-wing parties stand better chances. The four-year experiment showed an ordinary citizen his helplessness....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] You are surely talking about the unemployed, right?

[Kwasniewski] Not only them. I am also talking about a pensioner who does not know whether he will receive his pension, and a worker with no certainty that his enterprise will still be open in a month's time.

[Woyciechowski] Are you saying that you are counting on more votes in the oncoming elections?

[Kwasniewski] This is what the elections—just like in sports—are all about. However, I am not the kind of man who would celebrate his triumph in advance—so far there is no reason for that. We will do our best—with the help of our program, people who we think are well qualified, and the election campaign—to win more votes than we did last year.

[Woyciechowski] You have certainly heard the president's declaration in which he pledged to offer the prime ministerial portfolio to a representative of a party that will win the most seats in the Sejm. What will happen if the SLD turns out to be this party?

[Kwasniewski] Undoubtedly, we will propose our three candidates, according to the president's wish. Besides, since Poland is definitely going to operate under a coalition government for quite a while, we would have to conduct negotiations on a possible post-election coalition. Although it is too early to talk about this, I guess that the most important issue after 19 September will be the one concerning forming a coalition rather than appointments of specific individuals.

[Woyciechowski] What will this election be like? Do you think that since it will be held in the summer, the campaign will not be as tough as it was two years ago?

[Kwasniewski] Since there was more than enough rhetoric, we should eventually concentrate on the most profound and essential issues. This is exactly what we included in our election program. Nevertheless, I fear that this will be a dirty campaign, and that certain parties, obsessed by file-checking and anticommunism, will take the lead in this—striking below the belt. The judiciary system in Poland is not capable of reacting quickly to libels and slander, so everything will have to be resolved in people's minds rather than in court. The brutality of this campaign will be kindled by the fact that some parties will be fighting for their lives—it applies particularly to the right-wing parties, which might resort even to the most drastic maneuvers.

[Woyciechowski] And the last question, which many Poles tried to answer: Why did the SLD not support the Suchocka government in the no-confidence vote?

[Kwasniewski] Because they refused to negotiate with us. Although we have always been critical of this government, we could have offered our votes had it agreed to talk to us seriously. So, it was miscalculation of the government—the one where Mr. Goryszewski is in charge of the economy—to count on the SLD's support. The SLD voted "yes," being perfectly aware of the consequences it might trigger.

[Woyciechowski] Dissolution of the Sejm being among them?

[Kwasniewski] Yes.

[Woyciechowski] And perhaps partly because the election plays into the hands of the SLD?

[Kwasniewski] I think that it is necessary. After all, we were the first party to realize the necessity of such an election. If we are to resort only to democratic and political means, early elections are one of them. If this election focuses on essential issues and is based on the new, recently activated electoral system, I believe that it will produce a positive effect.

Moczulski Interviewed on KPN Platform, Aims

WS0406092693 Warsaw PRZEGLAD in Polish
1118 GMT 3 Jun 93 No 86 pp 26-28

[Interview with Leszek Moczulski, leader of the KPN, Confederation for an Independent Poland, by POWSZECHNA AGENCJA INFORMACYJNA correspondent Norbert Potocki in Warsaw: "We Will Not Make Compromises in Our Program;" date not given]

[Text] [Potocki] What slogans will the KPN present in its election campaign?

[Moczulski] Certainly the slogan of reforms in the Republic. We will convince the people during our election campaign that the most important thing in Poland is [word indistinct] whereas the indicator of how well the government is working is the satisfaction of the people. We will also advocate a new economic policy.

I believe that the election will end the period of transition, which began in 1989 and undoubtedly resulted in a great deal of positive changes, particularly in the area of politics. At the same time, in the transition period everything was done only partially. Many opportunities were lost. All the Polish defects became very conspicuous. Well, they were actually not only Polish; they were simply human—parochial interests and stupidity. We see them all the time.

It beats me why the government fought for general privatization and started wheeling and dealing with the communists. It was no use, because there was not even a committee set up that would make it possible to implement this program. This is also a human defect: a certain thoughtlessness which we could see in this [word indistinct] I hope that along with a new, hopefully strong Sejm, we will be able to take on the difficult task of reforming our lives, reviving the Republic.

[Potocki] Will the new [words indistinct] be able to cope with the problems that were beyond its predecessor?

[Moczulski] This depends [words indistinct] whether Poles can elect the right deputies. I said this whenever there was an election, and now I will reiterate: Vote, but make sure that you do not regret your votes after three months. I will even say more: [words indistinct] let them stay at home. We do not need voter turnout records. I will remind you that the best Sejm in our history, the Great Sejm, which passed the 3rd May Constitution, was elected by less than seven percent of the population, which was less than 10 percent of the people entitled to [word indistinct] In elections the quality of the voting is also important.

I want to emphasize that what the future Sejm will look like is up to the voters. I must add that I am an optimist: Polish voters have already learned a lot in the few elections we have had. For many people they were a dramatic experience; for many, however, they were shattered hopes. I also hope that the new election law, which sorts out certain matters, will enable us to create a strong Sejm that will be capable of pulling Poland out of the crisis.

[Potocki] Will the election campaign bring the people together, or will it create even further divisions among them?

[Moczulski] I think that they will be consolidated. The people will not be divided into 60 lists, as was the case in the last election. As a matter of fact, there will be only four lists that will count; they will represent the four major political orientations in Poland. The first of them, the one that is nostalgically looking at the past, is the Left Democratic Union [SLD]. Another one, the one that wants to continue what we now have, is the Democratic Union [UD], along with its supporters. The party that wants the inauguration of a new policy is the KPN. Finally, a rather peculiar orientation is the one that is related to the peasants. It will be the four orientations that the people in Poland will divide themselves into. One of the four will receive a majority; however, it will be an entirely different majority from the one that was in the previous Sejm.

I am convinced that in the new parliament there will not be such a multitude of parties, whose names were not always familiar to me, and besides, I never even made the effort to remember them. I believe, therefore, that the public will unite after the election campaign.

[Potocki] What will be the role of the KPN in the future Sejm? The post-Solidarity parties are already today saying that they are not going to form any coalitions with the Confederation.

[Moczulski] Nor are we going to make any program compromises with anyone. In the future Sejm we will collaborate only with those who are prepared to accept our program. I will say more: the Confederation is fighting to win. We will not compete only with the peasant orientation. As far as our economic program is concerned, we are very close, if not identical, to each other. However, we will fight with the other parties, that is, with the UD and the SLD. We will fight to win. They are not our allies. What we want is for the UD and the SLD not to win a majority in the future Sejm. I hope that we will not allow that to happen, or, to be more specific, that the election will not allow it.

Little Fluctuation in Unemployment Rate Reported

AU0706172093 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 May 93 p 5

[Dana Ionescu article: "1,036,719 Unemployed Represent 9.3 Percent of the Labor Force"]

[Text] For the first time in the past three months—ever since the unemployed were officially registered—the unemployment rate recorded an extremely low fluctuation—9.3-9.5 percent. The latest statistics released by the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection indicated an unemployment rate of 9.3 percent. Under these conditions, the total number of unemployed exceeds 1 million by just a little (1,036,719 of which 614,680 are women). Depending on their situation, 571,250 people receive unemployment benefits while 381,527 receive relief allowances. Some 83,942 unemployed are in the records of the labor force offices but, in accordance with the law in force, receive no financial benefits. Maintaining a rather stable unemployment rate is explained by the resumption of construction activities and ensuring work for a small part of the unemployed labor force. Another reason would be the fact that some unemployed did not claim their relief allowances.

The draft law on increasing relief allowances from 40 to 50 percent of the minimum gross salary in the economy was forwarded by the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection to Parliament already at the beginning of March 1993; that is where it still is, without having been discussed yet.

Companies Suffer Losses Due to Embargo on FRY

AU0806112793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0931 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/6/1993—"The Siderca commercial company of Calarasi (Romanian port on the Danube) has registered a \$51 million loss since the embargo was imposed over Yugoslavia by the UN Security Council," told daily CURIERUL NATIONAL engineer Cristian Pirvan, the general director of the company.

The heavy loss suffered by this important iron and steel combine is due to difficulties of supplying the combine with raw materials, especially with coking coal, and of marketing its finished products which is carried out mainly on the Danube.

The same newspaper informs that "62 corn-loaded cars bound for the Comtim combine (Timis County) are being blocked for more than one month at the Stamora-Moravita [Romanian-FRY] border cross point. Even if the Customs General Directorate has given green light to the corn loads' entering Romania, the cars are on stand-by for the approval of the UN Security Council.

"However, the same international body is not yet ready to state its position over the issue regarding Romania's

loss which is steadily increasing as a direct result of the embargo over Yugoslavia," reads the article in CURIERUL NATIONAL.

Prototype of Training Fighter Jet Reported

AU0806090193 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 3 Jun 93 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Romanian Airplane Manufacturing Industry Is Not Disintegrating"]

[Text] On Monday [31 May] an important event for Romania's aeronautical industry took place at the Avioane [Airplanes] commercial stock company in Craiova. They officially presented the prototype of the IAR-109-Swift [name in English as published] aircraft, the modernized version of the IAR-99 training fighter jet also designed for attacking ground targets, which has been manufactured at that plant in Craiova.

The new aircraft has been designed in cooperation with the IAI-Israel Aircraft Industries Ltd. [name in English as published] and it is equipped with the most modern apparatus and an integrated weapon control system. According to information provided by engineer Grigore Leoveanu, the director general of the Craiova Avioane commercial stock company, to reporters of the ROMPRES news agency, the IAR-109-Swift performs better than other similar aircraft of that class and its price is very competitive.

Used as a training aircraft, the plane offers the trainee the possibility to perform elementary and advanced drills while also allowing him to get accustomed with the technique which is necessary to pilot even the most sophisticated fighter jets. Owing to its equipment—which, from many points of view, is rated first even at an international level—the airplane belongs to the class of intelligent aircraft [clasa avioanelor inteligente] allowing the trainees to directly proceed to piloting even the most sophisticated fighters such as Mirage 2000's or MiG-29 M's.

The director general of the company also mentioned the fact that 80 percent of the parts of the plane are manufactured in Romania. The IAR-109-Swift is currently being prepared to be sent to France where it will be exhibited at the Le Bourget International Aeronautical Fair scheduled to be open between 10 and 20 July 1993.

The IAR-109-Swift is the third absolute novelty of the Craiova plant after the IAR-93—the first Romanian training fighter aircraft built in cooperation with Yugoslavia [before the conflict]—and IAR-99, the first fighter aircraft entirely designed in Romania.

Current Salaries of Government Leaders Reported

AU0806085693 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
5-6 Jun 93 p 1

["I.M."-signed article: "The Real Salaries of Dignitaries"]

[Text] After presenting the true salaries of parliamentarians, which are retroactively linked to the index according to the government decision issued after 1 January 1993, our readers asked us also to make public the salaries of dignitaries, according to the same calculations. Here they are: Romania's president has a salary of 465,945 lei, compared to 293,600 lei that is stipulated in Annex No. 1 of the law on salaries. The final and real amount can be obtained by taking into account the indexation starting with 1 January and the seniority pay increase of 25 percent. In the case of the prime minister, his salary is 335,806 lei, compared to 209,300 lei that is

listed in Annex No. 2 of the law on salaries of dignitaries and state employees. State ministers have a salary of 293,662 lei compared to 182,000 as listed in the same annex, and ministers earn 277,650 lei compared to 170,900 lei. Except for the seniority pay increase, no other indemnity has been included in these calculations. It is noteworthy that the figures refer to the gross salary, from which taxes will be deducted. In order to be certain that these are the correct calculations we turned to the Ministry of Labor, where we received no confirmation or denial whatsoever regarding these calculations. Nevertheless, an opinion was voiced to the effect that these sums are not exaggerated at all and we would be well advised to get information about the salaries of RENEL [Romanian National Electricity Network Corporation] employees. However, that would in no way change the problem that springs from our determination to inform our citizens correctly.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 8 June
WA0806165393

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Croats fleeing from Travnik after Muslim attack ... Meeting of military leaders from three warring sides fails ... Bosnian Serb shelling of Gorazde reportedly continues ... Draskovic's brother visits him in jail, says he was badly beaten ... Bosnian official derides safe haven plan in letter to Secretary of Defense Aspin.

MILITARY

CROATS FLEEING TRAVNIK (Zagreb Radio, TANJUG, AFP, Sarajevo Radio): "Around 5,000" Croats fleeing Travnik after Muslim attack. UNPROFOR spokesman reports hardly any Croats left in Travnik, says Croats shelling town from Vitez as "retaliatory measure." Bosnian Croat leader Boban sends letter to international organizations warning of "ethnic cleansing" of Croats committed by Muslim forces. Sarajevo Radio reports local Muslim authorities impose "ban on leaving" town. (LD0706171893, AU0806075893, LD0706214193, AU0706150693)

MEETING OF WARRING SIDES FAILS (TANJUG, Sarajevo Radio): Military leaders from three warring sides traded accusations after failure of talks at Sarajevo airport. Bosnian Serb General Gvero says Muslims "seek peace" but are "careful not to find it" and "seek war"

but want "someone else to fight it for them," while Bosnian Croat commander Lucic calls Muslim proposals at talks "unserious." Muslim delegation accuses Serbs of rejecting UN safe haven resolution, "dragging their feet" so that the talks would fail. (LD0706223993, AU0706192493)

SERBIAN SHELLING OF GORAZDE CONTINUES: Sarajevo Radio reports Bosnian Serbs continue to shell Gorazde with heavy artillery for 13th straight day. Number of "expelled people well over several thousand," 47 villages burned down in area. (AU0806094393)

POLITICAL

BROTHER SAYS DRASKOVIC BADLY BEATEN (AFP, TANJUG): After visiting him in jail, Draskovic's brother says Serbian opposition leader was "massacred" by police during his arrest, shows "marks of fierce blows all over his body and head." Opposition parties demand his release, dropping of charges. (AU0706134093, LD0706224593)

INSTITUTE DENIES NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM (TANJUG): Vinca Institute of Nuclear Sciences in FRY denies article in French newspaper FIGARO claiming nuclear bomb being built in Yugoslavia. Institute says it "only" does "small scale" research on "nuclear energy." (LD0806121793)

DIPLOMATIC

BOSNIAN OFFICIAL SENDS LETTER TO ASPIN (Sarajevo Radio): Bosnian Deputy Defense Minister Munib Bisic has sent a letter to Secretary of Defense Aspin calling UN safe haven proposal "one of the most ruinous decisions for all mankind" that would "turn the world bit by bit into ghettos." Bisic warns that "if the world tolerates the Serbian crimes, it will have to tolerate our revenge." (AU0806122093)

Deputy Minister Appeals to Aspin for U.S. Action*AU0806122093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93*

[Text] Munib Bisic, Bosnia-Herzegovina deputy defense minister, has sent a letter to Les Aspin, saying:

I turn to you directly since you represent the largest military power in the world, which could, if it wanted to, stop the aggression against our country. You, better than most, know that our country was attacked by Serbia and Montenegro with their federal army, the former Yugoslav People's Army, and the irregular Serbian formations. You know that we are facing the fourth largest European force. It is opposed by Bosnian patriots of all religions and nations, and we are armed with small arms. Of course, Muslims are in the majority among them. They are fighting against their own extermination. You know about the crimes committed by the aggressor, crimes that surpass in monstrosity the Nazi crimes of the World War II.

I do not insist on moral principles despite the fact that it is unbearable and inconsistent for the West (?to observe calmly) the mass slaughter of civilians, internment into camps, the rape of women and girls, destruction of religious shrines, commandeering of looted goods to Serbia and Montenegro. I merely wish to remind you of the consequences of the policy currently conducted by your country. By refusing to undertake radical measures in Bosnia-Herzegovina, you concede the impotence of the international community and the greatest power in the world, and confirm that aggression and crime do indeed pay. Many present and future dictators have been expecting just that, and you can rest assured that many new, and we quote, historic nationalist programs are currently being devised, and young nationalists trained.

You know very well that the killing of Bosnia is no common crime. Those who are killing it openly preach apartheid, racial and national hatred. Bosnia is the only country in the world that can boast about its extraordinary tolerance and a harmonious coexistence of citizens of different nations and religions. That has been going on for almost a 1,000 years, and it is even more valuable than the well-known American melting pot for nations, in which those who enter it lose their individual traits.

In exchange for real action in Bosnia-Herzegovina, your country has supported the proposal for the establishing of safe havens in which the mere biological survival of our citizens would be protected. This is one of the most ruinous decisions for the entire mankind, because if it becomes the model for solving similar problems, total blockade threatens the world. The zones of Sarajevo and Tuzla, for example, were very strong industrial areas, and their companies were for years the greatest exporters in the former Yugoslavia. Now in the safe havens, the people would live off humanitarian aid from overseas, while the international community would finance foreign troops to guard them. In this way, you would be

turning the world bit by bit into ghettos, where people would literally vegetate, while the U.N. expenses would be enormous.

I would finally like to bring up, Mr. Aspin, the issue of the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some of your officials say that this would lead to retaliation by Muslims against Serbs. The well-intentioned Americans, such as Senator Biden, have seen for themselves that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is not a Muslim army, and that there have been no retaliatory actions by that army against the Serbs. That would not be allowed to happen by the fighters of Serbian nationality, who make up 14 percent of the army, and the officers, Serbs, who are involved in all command levels.

If the West continues this hypocritical policy, however, tolerating the greater Serbian crimes, it will be very hard to stop the desperate people, seeking to take justice into their own hands. That will be particularly dangerous at the moment of the collapse of the Serbian Nazi war machine. The logic of the desperate is very simple: If the world has tolerated the Serbian crimes, it will have to tolerate our revenge. Our legal authorities, the command of the army, the Islamic, Catholic, and Jewish religious leaders are doing all in their power to prevent that. However, the key to a just and honorable solution is, dear sir, in your hands.

This is what is said in the letter sent to Les Aspin by Munib Bisic, Bosnia-Herzegovina deputy defense minister.

Muslims Hit Bus 'Packed With Civilians'*LD0406200493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 4 Jun 93*

[Text] The information service of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna has announced that Muslim artillery hit a bus packed with civilians at about 1830 hours. Several passengers were killed and many seriously injured in the bus, which was traveling from Novi Travnik to Tuzla. The bus, with Tuzla license plates, was hit at an intersection on the road to Vitez, near the Croatian Defense Council checkpoint. Muslim forces have been shelling Croat villages in the Travnik municipality all day long and taking Croats from that area to an unknown destination.

Government Sets Conditions for UN Cooperation*AU0706141893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Jun 93*

[Text] We have just received information from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government, in the presence of the representatives of the political parties, debated at a joint session on 6 June the [words indistinct] Security Council Resolution 836. The following statement was issued after the debate.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government express their dissatisfaction with the latest Security Council resolution on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Resolution 836. The Presidency and the government believe that the international community and its institutions, particularly the U.N. Security Council, have not responded to their obligations promptly and relevantly concerning the aggression against an independent state and member of the United Nations. Also, they have deprived Bosnia-Herzegovina of its legitimate right to defense and self-defense. The result of such an attitude toward a small country and its people has been the occupation of a large part of its territory and the murder of about 200,000 civilians, the expulsion of some 2.5 million people from their homes, and the destruction of several thousand towns and villages. The government and the Presidency regretfully conclude that the responsible international forces have observed with relative indifference the horrendous acts of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and concentration camps in Europe at the end of the 20th century. This is obviously a moral [word indistinct] and a bad sign for [word indistinct].

However, keeping in mind Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde, and faced with the risk of a rapid deterioration of the situation, the Presidency and the government have decided to cooperate with UNPROFOR in carrying out its task from Resolution 836, based on its extended mandate. Concerning the safe zones, the Presidency and the government demand the following:

- a) that the safe havens include not only cities, but also their surroundings;
- b) that blue corridors are opened as part of the safe havens to connect these zones with the nearest parts of the free territory;
- c) that the aggressor's heavy artillery is withdrawn (outside) the safe havens, and is effectively put out of commission;

The said demands are in accordance with all the U.N. Security Council resolutions on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Vance-Owen peace plan. The Presidency and the government call on the U.N. Security Council to (?decide) on the deployment of observers along the Bosnia-Herzegovina borders, and to adopt a special resolution on the acceptance of the Vance-Owen plan.

Since the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been deprived of its right to defend itself as envisaged by Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, the international community [word indistinct] protect our country and our people against [words indistinct] the aggressor, and in accordance with that we demand that all the declarations by international bodies and U.N. resolutions be implemented. We also demand that the arms embargo be lifted against the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbs Continue 'To Defy' UN in Safe Havens

AU0706123093 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Michael Adler report]

[Text] Sarajevo, June 7 (AFI)—The Bosnian Serbs continued Monday to defy the United Nations in two U.N. safe havens for besieged Moslems—in Srebrenica where water is scarce and in Gorazde under Serb attack for almost two weeks, a U.N. spokesman said in Sarajevo.

Meanwhile, a 295-vehicle Tuzla Salvation convoy was on its way in the Adriatic Coast to Tuzla in northeast Bosnia, and 150 more trucks were expected to join it, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer said. He said the all-civilian convoy was proceeding without UNPROFOR protection.

Frewer said there was nothing UNPROFOR could do for now to get access to repair a water plant feeding Srebrenica and to get U.N. military observers into Gorazde, both in eastern Bosnia.

Despite a U.N. vote last Friday [4 June] authorizing troops and the use of force to protect the havens, Frewer said UNPROFOR was still functioning under a humanitarian mandate that requires Serb approval to cross Serb lines.

But in a sharp departure from what has been the standard UNPROFOR line, the U.N. military commander in Bosnia General Philippe Morillon on Sunday blamed the mainly Moslem Bosnian government for refusing negotiations and thus blocking the process needed to get observers into Gorazde.

Morillon, a French general, told AFP that the rejection May 23 by Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the mainly Moslem Bosnian government, of the so-called Washington agreement on protecting U.N.-mandated safe havens had stopped talks over the areas.

"Deterioration continues in the Srebrenica pocket," Frewer said about conditions there, including lack of water and sanitation. He said that in Srebrenica "streams and wells are very much in danger of running dry."

The Serb offensive in Gorazde was continuing for its 12th day Monday, Radio Sarajevo said. Shelling had killed six people over the past 24 hours, three of them children, and wounded 26, including 14 children, the radio said early Monday. The overall toll is over 300.

The radio had also reported shelling in Srebrenica, where there are 300 Canadian UNPROFOR troops monitoring the zone. Frewer said shelling in Srebrenica could call Friday's U.N. Security Council resolution 836 into effect but he said he had no confirmation of the radio report.

He described Srebrenica as "relatively tense with ongoing small-arms and heavy machine-gun fire" on the confrontation line that limits the haven area.

In Sarajevo, sniper fire that was intense Sunday afternoon was continuing Monday after a quiet night.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said Serb and Moslem commanders were due to meet Monday at Sarajevo airport to discuss the demilitarisation of the Bosnian capital, which is also a U.N.-declared safe zone.

Sarajevo last week only got in 30 percent of the supplies it needed as the humanitarian airlift was suspended from Wednesday to Saturday, said U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) delegate Tony Land.

Meanwhile, UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer said central and southern Bosnia, where Croats and Moslems were fighting, was tense, and there was small-arms fire in Mostar.

Tanjug news agency, quoting Croatian radio, said major clashes had been going on for two days around Travnik in central Bosnia.

UN Says More Needed To Make Safe Havens Safe

AU0806142093 Paris AFP in English 1336 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 8 (AFP)—Some 70 people have fled the U.N. safe haven of Srebrenica on foot due to lack of water there and 15 of these people were arrested by Serb authorities and detained in Zvornik, a U.N. spokesman said here Tuesday.

"We are happy Srebrenica is now considered a safe haven but obviously something more is needed for areas such as Srebrenica to really be made safe," a U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman told reporters.

He said there should be a "temporary solution for people pending the arrival of real peace." Some 30,000 residents and refugees are believed to be crowded into Srebrenica, one of six U.N. safe havens for besieged Moslems.

The spokesman said a Bosnian government statement Monday accepting the concept of safe havens had failed to say the mainly Moslem Bosnian army would "work with the Serbs for the cessation of hostilities and a ceasefire agreement, particularly in the Gorazde area. We're waiting for that."

Serb authorities have refused to allow U.N. military observers into Gorazde, in eastern Bosnia and the only one of six U.N. havens for besieged Moslems where there is no U.N. presence.

The spokesman said getting a ceasefire in Gorazde, currently under Serb attack, was a pre-condition for establishing the safe areas properly and that the Bosnian government would have to be willing to negotiate.

The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) does have some 300 Canadian troops in Srebrenica in the east as

well as troops in safe havens Tuzla and Zepa in the east, Sarajevo in the center-east and Bihac in the northwest.

NATO Official: Vance-Owen Plan 'Obsolete'

BR0806121293 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Article by "MD": "Peace Plan for Bosnia Obsolete, Suggests NATO Official"]

[Text] Evere—At their meeting in Athens on Thursday, NATO foreign ministers will devote some time to a brainstorming session on a "legitimate political solution" for Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was the public announcement made yesterday by a high-ranking NATO official, reflecting what a large number of diplomats and politicians already have been saying in private; namely, that the Vance-Owen peace plan has been rendered obsolete by the latest Serb conquests on the ground.

The NATO Council of Ministers also will examine how the alliance might be able to provide air support to UN ground troops protecting the so-called "safe areas" for Muslims in Bosnia. There is no great haste to do so. The UN Security Council still has to agree on a new mandate for the UN forces in Bosnia. To this end it must find countries that are prepared to supply extra troops. So far, there have been few candidates. The Security Council resolution carried last Friday added an extra 10,000 men to UNPROFOR, the 9,000-strong UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia.

According to the NATO official, the protection of the capital Sarajevo and five Muslim towns is not an end in itself, but merely a first step toward a peace agreement which is "based on the Vance-Owen peace plan or something derived from it." He added that the plan drawn up by international negotiators Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance "has been rendered more or less outdated."

Whereas the Vance-Owen plan is regarded as obsolete in more or less hushed tones, the Bosnian Government yesterday said that the implementation of the plan, which would involve the Serbs returning some of their territorial gains, was just one of the conditions on which it would accept the UN resolution. Initially, the Bosnian Government angrily rejected the resolution out of hand because it believed that it was rewarding the Serbian aggressor and would create "Indian-like" reservations for the Muslims. The government also wanted the safety areas to be clearly staked out, so as to breathe some economic life into them, to be brought out of reach of Serbian gunfire, and to be interconnected via a series of protected corridors.

Now that both the European Community and the United Nations have lost credibility as a result of their impotence to stop the continuing violence in Bosnia, according to REUTER, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner fears that the crisis has damaged the image of the alliance.

According to diplomatic sources, at the Council of Ministers he will press for the organization of a NATO summit meeting before the end of the year, where clear priorities should be laid down for the Atlantic alliance. At the same time, Woerner hopes that the United States once again will "concentrate on playing its leading role."

Military Meeting of Warring Sides Fails

LD0706223993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2218
GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Pale, June 7 (TANJUG)—The Moslem side does not know what it wants, General Milan Gvero of the Bosnian Serb army said on Monday.

"They seek peace but they are careful not to find it. They seek war but want someone else to fight it for them," Gvero said after a failed meeting between military commissions of Bosnia's three warring sides at Sarajevo airport on Monday.

The meeting between the Bosnian Moslem, Serb and Croat military representatives, sponsored by the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), was to focus on U.N. Resolution 826 on safe areas in Bosnia and to fix the date for a meeting between the three sides' commanders.

The Serb side demanded that information be revealed about a tunnel being dug under the airport which is to link the area with the Moslem suburbs of Butmir, Dobrinja, and downtown Sarajevo.

According to Serb sources, the tunnel is being dug by Serbs who were taken hostage in the Moslem part of the city.

On June 5 last year, Serb forces surrendered the Butmir airport to UNPROFOR to use it for humanitarian deliveries.

Commander of the Serb republic's army Gen. Ratko Mladic sent a letter to UNPROFOR Commander Lars-Eric Wahlgren on May 24, demanding an energetic action which would prevent the Moslems from abusing the airport. The Serb side never received a reply from UNPROFOR.

Serb officers also demanded a report on the demilitarization of the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, saying it was senseless to make new agreements which would never become reality.

Moslem forces in Srebrenica have failed to surrender arms and equipment to UNPROFOR, despite a number of agreements.

Gen. Gvero said the Serb side proposed that the commanders of the three warring sides meet in the foreseeable future, but the Moslem side asked for more time to obtain additional instructions from Sarajevo.

Gvero branded as a plain lie and a proof of "unreadiness for cooperation and blindness" a statement by Jovan Divjak, who headed the Moslem delegation, that the

Bosnian Serb forces were intent on cutting water and electricity supplies in Sarajevo.

"The whole world knows that we are the most cooperative side in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Convoys of food have passed through our territory. Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Gorazde have more food than many Serb towns. Sarajevo has water, electricity and gas and receives large quantities of humanitarian aid," said Gvero.

Vinko Lucic, the commander of the Croatian Defence Council for central Bosnia who headed the Croat delegation, said the meeting was unserious, alluding to the Moslem side.

As for the Croat-Moslem fighting in central Bosnia, Lucic said: "Everything is under control, we know whose."

Continued Serbian Attack on Gorazde Reported

AU0806094393

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 8 June carries, in its regular 20-minute newscast, several reports on the continuing fighting in the Republic.

Reporting from Gorazde, Mustafa Kurtovic says that "the defenders have been repelling the aggressor's attacks for 13 days now. Yesterday afternoon, after fierce clashes with the enemy, who is far superior in numbers and equipment, the defenders halted his attempt to break through with infantry and armored-mechanized forces." He says that "yesterday afternoon, the chetniks attempted an infantry breakthrough at (?Prvanj). To judge by the recent activities of the chetnik units, aimed at killing everything that moves in Gorazde, the town can expect yet another hard day. The reconnaissance units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Eastern Bosnia Operative Group have registered that the chetniks are regrouping and bringing in reinforcements to deploy around Gorazde." Kurtovic says that "four villages were burned down yesterday in the region of [word indistinct], so the number of burned villages in the Gorazde commune has reached 47, while the number of expelled people is well over several thousand."

In his report from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "yesterday afternoon, the town was heavily shelled by howitzers and tanks from Mount Ozren, while the defense positions were exposed to constant fire from tanks and recoilless guns."

Hamiz Deronjic reports from Brcko that "the shelling of the defense positions continued overnight with mortars of all calibers, supported by Praga and Bofors, particularly the positions in Poljaci, Bajici, Lipovac, Brod, Licki Most, Rijeke, Dizdarsa, Omerbegovaca, and Dubravice Donje. The chetnik infantry was also very active during

the night, using grenades, machine guns and sub-machine guns with dum-dum bullets against our positions in Lipovac and Bajici." He claims that "at 2230 [2030 GMT], two enemy helicopters flew on the Bijeljina-Brcko-Pelagicevo route and, a little later, a couple of aggressor's helicopters flew in the opposite direction. The movement of tanks was spotted around the chetnik stronghold of (?Sekulici)."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "while the town is exposed to constant attacks by the chetniks, the people in this region are increasingly anxious about the continuation of the clashes in central Bosnia between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The presidency of the commune is again appealing to the representatives of the two conflicting sides to find an urgent solution to halt the clashes. Apart from the fact that these clashes are directly affecting our readiness to fight the common enemy, they are also affecting the delivery of humanitarian aid to Gradacac and the region. The roads for the aid must be immediately reopened."

Reporting from Zavidovici on a very poor line, Viktor Boban says that "the enemy is using M-84 machine guns with dum-dum bullets on this front." He says that "a large enemy motorized convoy was spotted last night moving from the direction of [word indistinct] toward the temporarily occupied territory of Zavidovici."

The Second Corps Third Operative Group reports from Kladanj that "during the last 24 hours the chetniks have been opening provocative fire with anti-aircraft weapons and small arms, but the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters have not been responding." It is relatively quiet this morning, he says.

In his report from Olovo, Velid Djindo says that "yesterday the aggressor continued to shell heavily the civilian targets in the area from his infamous strongholds of Krivajevici and (?Kolatovici), using howitzers and mortars against the villages in the valley of the Krivaja River. Throughout the night, the enemy used anti-aircraft guns and machine guns, and occasionally mortars. Sporadic artillery barrages can be heard this morning."

Describing the situation in Sarajevo, the studio announcer says that "a general alarm was sounded at 0910 this morning, and it is still in force. The Security Service of Stari Grad has informed us that the chetniks have fired several shells on Sirokaca. The chetniks are using M-84 machine guns in Centar, while their snipers are very active in Dobrinja."

Mayor Describes Situation

AU0806115593 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Telephone interview with Gorazde Mayor Abdul Prajanac in Gorazde by Werner Heritsch; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Heritsch] Sarajevo, Tuzla, Srebrenica, Gorazde—these are the names of some Bosnian towns that were, and still are being, besieged by the Serbs. Presently the main target of attacks is the eastern Bosnian town of Gorazde, where about 60,000 people are currently staying. Most of them are refugees from the surrounding areas. Yesterday, the Serbs succeeded in conquering the last remaining supply route to the town. The situation in Gorazde is dramatic.

[Prajanac] I cannot tell you exactly how many people have died and how many have been injured. Shells are continuously being dropped on Gorazde. People are being killed and wounded all the time. Let me tell you what happened here two days ago. In the center of the town, a few children—all less than seven years old—were standing in a line waiting for the daily ration of food. While they were waiting there with their mothers for the food that is being provided by the Red Cross, shells hit the square, killing four of the children immediately. Another 10 persons were injured.

[Heritsch] Serbian units launched a major offensive 13 days ago, during which they conquered and destroyed some of the suburbs of the east Bosnian town. Gorazde itself is facing sustained bombardment. Is Gorazde about to fall?

[Prajanac] Gorazde is certainly not about to fall. The situation is so dramatic because we are besieged from all sides. Gorazde is a completely isolated and blocked town. No UN convoy has arrived here for weeks. We are not getting any food from the United Nations. The food that we receive from the air does not even cover our daily needs. We are lacking the most essential things. We do not have medicines either. Our hospitals are overcrowded, both with injured civilians and soldiers.

[Heritsch] Mr. Prajanac, we heard that the last remaining supply route, a small path in the mountains, was captured, too. Is that true?

[Prajanac] Yes, it is true. We are completely cut off. Yet we hope that our soldiers and our people will do everything possible to defend the town. The enemy will enter neither Gorazde nor the territories that are still free.

[Heritsch] Yesterday, the Bosnian Government adopted the UN plan that also provides for a protection zone for Bosnia. Abdul Prajanac does not really believe in this solution.

[Prajanac] Like all resolutions so far, this resolution does not contain any description of mechanisms for its implementation. We see no possibility of realizing this resolution. What is absolutely required for our people is the immediate dispatch of observers and peace troops by the international community, as provided by the resolution, so that Gorazde will really become a protection zone.

Tank, Howitzer Attack

AU0806105893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Report by Mustafa Kurtovic from Gorazde]

[Text] After being halted yesterday at the defense lines of the free Gorazde territory, the chetniks are retaliating this morning with heavy artillery. They are pounding the free territory with tanks and armored transporters. They are using mortars, howitzers, and tanks from the direction of Cajnice, and pulverizing with heavy artillery fire the villages surrounding Gorazde and Cajnice. Destructive projectiles are raining down on other parts of the area, particularly the villages of Ilovaca, (?Sadba), Vranici, (?Ostranka), and Gorazde itself. We have information that the Chetniks are bringing in new forces from the direction of Foca, while the demented aggressor is concentrating his forces in the area of Pale and Praca.

Eleven people, two of them fighters, were killed in the heavy shelling yesterday, and 23 were wounded, nine of them fighters. It is sheer hell in the inhabited areas and along the defense lines. The presidency and executive council of the Gorazde commune is constantly in session, undertaking all measures to help the defenders in the defense of Gorazde. They have sent out a demand to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency for the urgent deployment of UN observers in Gorazde to stop the further suffering of the civilian population. They demand from [word indistinct] Valentin and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to send helicopters immediately to Gorazde to evacuate the seriously wounded to other medical centers, where they can be treated.

Serb Army Sees New Muslim Offensive Imminent

LD0706124093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1159
GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Bratunac, June 7 (TANJUG)—Muslim troops are preparing to launch a new general offensive against Bosnian Serb positions in ethnic war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bosnian Serb army command has said.

The Command gives the precise locations of the planned Muslim attacks—points of assembly of the "green berets" over the past few days.

The Bosnian Serb army command links this with the Muslim government's aim to continue at all costs the fourteen-month-old ethnic war between the local Serbs, Croats and Muslims in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to the command, the regions of Brcko and Doboj, towns in northern Bosnia, will be in the focus of coming Muslim offensive.

The Bosnian Serb troops are in a state of alert and will continue preventing the implementation of the Muslim plans in a resolute and efficient manner, says the Command.

Croats Say Serbs, Muslims Jointly Attacking Travnik

LD0706122393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Mostar]

[Text] One building in Mostar on the left bank of the Neretva river is still ablaze. This is the aftermath of last night's shooting and explosions. Remaining buildings in Bulevar and Kolodvorska Street, along the town front-line, were all set on fire last night. Moslems were opening fire from all kinds of infantry weapons overnight. Mostar has been peaceful this morning.

A statement issued by the information department of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna today, which quotes official sources, says that an agreement between Generals Sefer Halilovic [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army chief of the General Staff] and Ratko Mladic [Bosnian Serb army chief of the General Staff] has been reached regarding a joint action by Moslem and Serb forces against formations of the Croatian Defense Council in Travnik, the Lasva river valley, and in the Neretva River area. The statement goes on to say that the Croatian Defense Council obtained in an operational way a report by a commander of a corps of the Moslem army in which he informs Sefer Halilovic that ammunition and weapons had been received from the Serbs.

Boban Calls For 'Emergency Aid'

AU0806075693 Paris AFP in English 2247 GMT 7 Jun
93

[Text] Zagreb, June 7 (AFP)—The leader of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mate Boban, called late Monday for emergency international aid to save Croat civilians trapped near the town of Travnik after fierce fighting with Bosnian Moslems at the weekend believed to have left heavy casualties.

In a letter to various international bodies quoted by the Croatian news agency HINA, Boban said the Croatian population in the Travnik district was "threatened by complete extinction", and that the situation at Travnik was "dramatic".

Calling on these international bodies to oblige the Moslems to observe a ceasefire in force, Boban said that 3,500 Croat civilians were waiting to be evacuated while the Bosnian Moslems were bringing reinforcements to Travnik.

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the war-ravaged republic is among the bodies to which the letter was sent, the report said.

Boban also appealed to Bosnia's Moslem President Alija Izetbegovic, it said.

In Belgrade, Tanjug news agency said the situation of the Bosnian Croats was very serious. Fighting between the formerly allied Croats and Moslems of Bosnia continued throughout the day at Travnik, it said quoting Zagreb radio.

The Croatian radio said that thousands of Bosnian Croats had panicked Monday in the face of a Moslem offensive, fleeing villages in the Travnik area for Mount Vlasica, which is about 10 kilometres (six miles) to the northwest and controlled by Bosnian Serb forces.

Some 3,000 Croats had been able to take shelter at the nearby location of Novi Travnik, but about one thousand others were trapped in wooded areas between the Bosnian Moslem and Serb forces, Zagreb radio said.

Boban said that the Croat population of the villages of Paklarevo, Ovcarevo and Jankovci had been "expelled", and he asserted that summary executions had taken place at Travnik, where "350 Croats are held in a concentration camp".

A local ceasefire, the second in two days, went into force Monday at 10:00 a.m. [0800 GMT], and according to international observers contacted by AFP from Zagreb it appeared to have been more-or-less observed at Travnik.

But Croatian Radio Zagreb said that fighting had continued in surrounding villages, with infantry assaults and shelling at Dolac and Nevica Polje leaving four soldiers dead and three wounded.

Travnik, with a Moslem-majority population of 90,000, including 25,000 refugees, had been under threat from Bosnian Serb forces since August 1992, before now becoming the scene of a struggle between Moslems and Croats.

The Bosnian Croats now facing a Moslem offensive in the Travnik region have already taken key neighbouring towns such as Novi Travnik and Vitez by force.

UN Reports Croats Shelling From Vitez

AU0806075893 Paris AFP in English 0723 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 8 (AFP)—Bosnian Croat forces were Tuesday morning [8 June] shelling the central Bosnian town of Travnik, which the mainly Moslem Bosnian army controls after fierce fighting over the past week, a U.N. spokesman said here.

The Croat HVO forces are shelling the town from Vitez, 10 kilometres to the southeast, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer told AFP.

He said there were "no real numbers of Croats left in Travnik" and that the shelling was apparently a retaliation measure.

Frewer said the fighting in the city, 100 kilometres (62 miles) northwest of Sarajevo, had been strong Friday and Saturday but had calmed down until Tuesday's shelling.

The leader of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mate Boban, had called late Monday for emergency international aid to save Croat civilians trapped near Travnik after fierce fighting with Bosnian Moslems at the weekend believed to have left heavy casualties.

In a letter to various international bodies quoted by the Croatian news agency HINA, Boban said the Croatian population in the Travnik district was "threatened by complete extinction," and that the situation at Travnik was "dramatic."

Calling on these international bodies to oblige the Moslems to observe a ceasefire in force, Boban had said that 3,500 Croat civilians were waiting to be evacuated while the Bosnian Moslems were bringing reinforcements to Travnik.

UNPROFOR is among the bodies to which the letter was sent, the report said.

Radio Sarajevo reported fighting Monday night in Vitez, 10 kilometres (six miles) southeast of Travnik, between the Bosnians and the HVO.

The radio also said there was fighting in Kruscica, a village near Vitez.

Meanwhile, fighting was raging Tuesday with Serb attacks on the eastern enclave of Gorazde for the 13th straight day, the radio said.

It had earlier reported Serb troops attacking Monday around the village of Osanica, where four villages were set on fire.

It said that in Brcko, a northern city held by Serbs, Serbs had wounded six civilians in attacks on Bosnian positions.

Sarajevo was relatively calm after machine-gun fire throughout Monday along the front lines in the city between besieging Serbs and the Bosnians, the radio said.

Radio Sarajevo reports are reliable but compiled solely from Bosnian reports.

Muslim Troops Reportedly Take Travnik

LD0806115593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1034 GMT 8 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 8 (TANJUG)—Local Moslem troops on Tuesday [8 June] took the town of Travnik in central Bosnia, which was under the control of local Croat troops.

However, clashes between the former allies against Bosnian Serbs continue in Travnik and its surroundings, says Reuter.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] sources in Vitez estimate that a few hundred people were killed in the clashes in and around Travnik on Monday, adding that Croats used artillery to shell the areas controlled by Moslems.

Moslems have also taken control over two villages. The Croat civilians and local Croat troops, dressed in civilian clothes, previously fled from the region to find refuge with Bosnian Serb units in the nearby mountains, as the UNPROFOR officials believe.

Clashes between local Moslem and Croat troops in and around Vitez in central Bosnia continued in the night between Monday and Tuesday, Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo said on Tuesday.

Muslim Attacks on Croats Reported

LD0606163293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Excerpt] The Mostar-based press service of the Bosnian Croatian Defense Council [HVO] main headquarters has stated that Muslim units are constantly attacking Croats in Travnik and Lasva [area west of Travnik]. The fiercest fighting is currently in progress around Dolac na Lasvi [Croat village near Travnik]. Muslims have burned down several Croat villages and their inhabitants are on the run. According to the HVO command for central Bosnia, certain Croat parts of Travnik are being destroyed. Croat civilians have also been forced out of Croat villages around Vitez that have been set on fire. Muslim units are constantly launching infantry attacks on all HVO positions and all Croat villages in the Vitez area. [passage omitted]

Croats, HVO Members Flee

LD0706171893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—Around 5,000 persons of Croat nationality, some Serbs and a considerable number of Croatian Defense Council [HVO] members, who surrendered their arms, have fled from Travnik and surrounding villages to Mount Vlasica, the information service of the main headquarters of the Serb republic's army announced today. The Croat and Serb population is fleeing to the territory controlled by the Serb republic's army in face of an offensive launched by forces loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, the announcement says.

The authorities and army of the Serb republic have organized the acceptance of, and accommodation for, the fleeing population, and have informed international humanitarian organizations about the situation. The wounded and sick have been sent to the nearest medical institutions on the territory of the Serb republic, the announcement points out.

The SRNA news agency reports that more than 1,000 members of the HVO from Travnik today surrendered their arms to the army of the Serb republic on Mount Vlasica.

SRNA's report says that the HVO members will be transported to Croatian territories.

Authorities Ban Citizens From Leaving

AU0706150693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Excerpts] According to information from the Travnik Security Services, fierce fighting continues today around the town, particularly in the areas of (?Sjemeni), (?Polje), [word indistinct] and (?Bojna). The exact number of casualties is still unknown. [passage omitted]

The members of the Travnik Security Services and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army military police are doing everything in their power to create security for all the citizens of the Travnik commune, regardless of their ethnic origins. To that effect, they are broadcasting by loudspeakers through the town and via Radio Travnik the statement by the Travnik Commune Presidency the ban on leaving or moving out of the town. Citizens are asked to mount joint protection against irresponsible individuals by organizing themselves and helping one another. This has been reported by the Information Center of the Travnik Commune War Presidency.

HVO Kills 18 Muslim Civilians

LD0606192093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Excerpts] For three days Croatian defense Council [HVO] units have been attacking and destroying Travnik and its suburbs using all available weapons, even multiple rocket-launchers. In this criminal attack they have been joined by HVO soldiers from Vitez and Novi Travnik. They are targeting parts of the Travnik municipality populated mostly by Muslims. Huge material damage has been caused; many buildings have been destroyed and burned down. [passage omitted]

According to a statement issued by the command of the Bosnian Krajina operational group, the HVO units have killed 18 Muslim civilians in the village of Velika Bukovica. Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces have responded to the attack in order primarily to deblock encircled Muslim villages, to protect the civilians, and to avoid a repetition of the Ahmici massacre. Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army also came to the aid of Croat women, children, and old folk whom they took to the grammar school building in Travnik. The attack was accompanied by mass looting of residential buildings and apartments. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army command issued an order according to which all persons caught in the act of looting will be shot on the spot. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units are advancing and pushing the HVO units back from the positions in which they were entrenched before this criminal attack. This is Travnik press center reporting.

Croats Admit Defeat

LD0806095893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Some Croat refugees from the area of Travnik have crossed to an area controlled by Serb forces on Mt. Vlasic, the Mostar-based Croatian Defense Council [HVO] confirmed this morning. The Croat refugees include a smaller part of the Travnik HVO brigade. The major part of the Travnik HVO brigade has for four days been under fierce attack from Muslim formations. The brigade was putting up successful resistance and managed to withdraw before the four-times numerically superior enemy and has taken up new positions. The HVO defense has been consolidated.

Croats Surrender to Serbs

AU0806112193 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Zagreb, June 8 (AFP)—One thousand Bosnian Croats from the central Bosnian town of Travnik have surrendered to Serbian troops since the weekend in order to escape Moslem forces who have taken over the town, a Croatian military spokesman said Tuesday [8 June].

"They had no choice if they wanted to survive," said Veso Vegar, spokesman for the Croatian defense force (HVO). Vegar, who is based in the southern Herzegovina town of Mostar, was interviewed by telephone from Zagreb.

He said those who surrendered, including 30 Croat soldiers, will likely be freed in an eventual prisoner exchange. [passage omitted]

Muslims Trying To Organize Return of Croats

LD0706215193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Following infantry clashes and sporadic shelling the night before last, the situation was calmer in Travnik yesterday. This evening we received a fresh report from Travnik.

[Unidentified correspondent] The shelling of the town and sniper activity by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] has continued during the day.

Members of bodies of authority of the Travnik War Presidency and government are in permanent session, and are doing everything to normalize life in the municipality. They passed several important decisions and decrees in this view, such as the order to open all food shops and the ban on price increases.

Calls on citizens of Croat and Serb nationalities not to leave the town are still being repeated. In connection with this the residents were addressed by Mayor Mohamed (Turic) who said that all citizens were guaranteed equal safety, personal and property.

According to accounts by people who returned to Travnik from the Vlasic plateau, we have learned that in the Vlasic plateau there are many Croats from Travnik and its surroundings who fell for the misinformation spread by the HVO that they are endangered in Travnik, they therefore abandoned their homes in panic, but it has also been learned that our Croat neighbors want to return to Travnik because they discovered that they had been manipulated. In cooperation with the UN Protection Force, representatives of the authorities are trying to secure their safe return.

This was a report from the Information Center of the Travnik War Presidency for Bosnia-Herzegovina radio-television via Information Center [as received] because telephone lines with Travnik have been down for two days.

Croatian Leader Warns of Ethnic Cleansing

LD0706214193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Mate Boban, president of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, today drew the attention of the cochairs of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, the UN Protection Force, and the U.S. Government to the ethnic cleansing of Croats in central Bosnia, demanding that they use their influence to put an end to the Muslim forces' crimes. This is what Mate Boban discussed today with a delegation from the German Bundestag.

Among other things, Boban said that despite the crimes committed against Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the practical betrayal of mutual interests on the part of the Muslim Army and Muslim leaders, the Croats nevertheless continue to offer cooperation, coexistence, and a shared state. Mostar has by and large been quiet today.

Mladic Accuses Morillon of Siding With Muslims

LD0506214593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1914 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 5 (TANJUG)—The Serb people in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are becoming aware, and with good reason, that the U.N. commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, French General Philippe Morillon, is very much on the side of the Moslems, especially in Srebrenica, Bosnian Serb Commander General Ratko Mladic says in a letter addressed

to Swedish General Lars-Eric Wahlgren who commands the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia.

Morillon has done nothing to evacuate the Serbs from Tuzla or at least alleviate the position of the 18,000-strong Serb community in that Moslem-controlled town in northeastern Bosnia, but he has been very active in organizing the evacuation of over 12,000 Moslems from Srebrenica, Mladic said in the letter, a copy of which was sent to TANJUG on Saturday.

The U.N. peace-keepers have evacuated all wounded Moslems from Srebrenica and Zepa in eastern Bosnia although many of them have committed terrible crimes against Serb civilians in the region, said Mladic.

Mladic charged Wahlgren with indifference to the problem of evacuation of wounded Serbs and the death of many Serb women and children wounded in the Sarajevo suburbs of Ilidza, Rajlovac, Vogosca and Ilijas who could not be transported to hospitals from Sarajevo airport through a corridor which was never established although this was one of the obligations UNPROFOR undertook when it took over the airport for humanitarian purposes.

Mladic also said that Morillon had secured complete logistics for the Srebrenica and Zepa Moslems, both from air and by road. On the other hand, U.N. troops have showed almost no interest in the Serb people over the past year, he added.

UNPROFOR has not evacuated a single Serb from Sarajevo, Zenica, Tuzla, Kakanj, Olovi, Kladanj, Vares, Visoko, Zavidovici, Gracanica, Travnik, Bugojno, Turbe, Konjic, Jablanica, Mostar, Livno, Duvno, Capljina and other towns controlled by Moslems or Croats, the letter said.

The Serb side can understand that U.N. helicopters are being used as mobile hospitals for wounded Moslems, but it cannot understand that the helicopters should be used to taxi the aides of Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic to the Moslem enclaves to organize rebellions and continue the war against the Serbs, said Mladic.

In substantiation, he mentioned an attempt on Thursday to smuggle to Srebrenica aboard U.N. helicopters 24 Izetbegovic's aides, many of whom had used forged foreign identity papers. They were recognized and turned back from Zvornik, said Mladic.

The Bosnian Serb commander also told Wahlgren that it had been repeatedly noted that U.N. convoys for Srebrenica carry fuel, and asked how the enormous quantities of fuel were to be used when UNPROFOR had "demilitarized" a territory 4.5 kilometres long and 1.5 kilometres wide.

Armed Moslems are walking free in Srebrenica and Zepa and the surrounding areas, and are continuing to attack Serb civilians, said Mladic.

Mladic said that Serbs were still being killed in the Srebrenica area although General Wahlgren had personally told the world that the local Moslems had laid down arms. He asked what UNPROFOR was doing to establish the facts about the Serb civilians in Srebrenica, and to find their remains and graves. He also asked why no findings had been made public.

In conclusion, Mladic asked what Wahlgren intended to do to alleviate the plight of about 70,000 Serbs in Sarajevo and many other towns controlled by Croats and Moslems, and when he planned to tell the world the truth about the position of the Serbs in these towns.

Krajisnik Not Opposed to Safe Zones

LD0606164793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Kragujevac, 6 June (TANJUG)—We have nothing against the resolution on safe zones, because these areas are the main hotbeds of war; if this document is consistently implemented there are great chances for finally restoring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Serb republic assembly president Momcilo Krajisnik said in the Sign of the Times program on Kragujevac Radio today.

Having recalled that the Muslims were the initiators of the introduction of safe areas and then tried to thwart the process of their introduction, because a state of war is more convenient for them due to a possible military intervention by the international community, Krajisnik stressed that it would be good if some other towns were put under UN control—Mostar, Vitez, and the whole of Cazin Krajina, which are the potential hotbeds of crisis.

"We have nothing against the fact that the international forces should defend themselves, because we neither have the need nor the desire to attack the UN forces and the Muslim population," Krajisnik said. We will only make sure that forces hostile to Serbs are not deployed there, such as forces from certain Muslim countries which could deliberately cause conflict between us and the United Nations. We have nothing against all others who would like to protect the Muslim people, and we welcome this action.

Krajisnik said that Ejup Ganic and Haris Silajdzic are the members of the Muslim leadership who urge military option. They can only stay in power in this way, and they do not understand that the introduction of safe areas protects the Muslims from being totally defeated.

"Peace, cessation of hostilities, negotiations, and political dialogue represent a solution for everything in Bosnia-Herzegovina," Krajisnik said, "not the war option advocated by Ganic and Silajdzic who have blind faith in the promises by the West that they will get the entire republic, failing to understand that this is not in the interest of the Muslim nation."

Krajisnik then assessed the Christopher-Kozyrev talks as useful and welcomed the return and active participation of Russia in the settlement of the problem. The policy of the Russian people can be beneficial for the Serbs, because they care for peace, so that contentious issues should be resolved through talks and a final and permanent solution found, Krajisnik concluded.

HVO Denies Allegations About Bihac Clashes

LD0506122293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] In connection with the latest propaganda about so-called clashes between Muslims and Croats in Bihac, the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Bihac defense issued a statement for the public saying that relations between these two nations and between their armed units in this area could serve as an example to other areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage indistinct]

Pale Exposed to 'Daily Artillery Attacks'

AU0706121693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] The free territory of the Pale commune is exposed to daily artillery attacks by the aggressor from the direction of Podgrab, Stambolic, (?Goravica), from Dzaferbegova Stijena, particularly against civilian targets in (?Brdarici) and [word indistinct]. Daily concentrations of considerable enemy forces in men and equipment can be seen in the region of Prace, Podgrab, and Vrhprace, which the aggressor brings in from the direction of the temporarily occupied Pale. Fierce attacks by the chetnik forces can therefore be expected on the free territory of the Pale commune.

The Pale War Presidency is appealing to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government, and UNPROFOR, to undertake urgent measures within their authority and ability for the protection of the civilian population on the free territory of the Pale commune.

Serb General Opposes Sarajevo 'Safe Haven' Plan

AU0706192493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Mixed military working groups of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croatian Defense Council, and the aggressor's side met at Sarajevo airport under the auspices of the UN today.

The delegation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was led by Colonel Jovan Divjak. They discussed the principles for the transformation of Sarajevo into a safe haven.

In adherence to the UN Security Council Resolution No. 824 in which [words indistinct]:

First, to form safe havens under the supervision of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] with an absolute

cease-fire and suspension of all military activities, including military movements, regrouping, or [word indistinct].

Second, UNPROFOR would (?mark) the lines of (?separation) on the field in consultation with the joint commission of the warring sides. [Word indistinct] military and paramilitary units will have to withdraw at a distance from which they could pose no threat to the safe haven and its inhabitants.

Third, the zone of separation [words indistinct] studied on the basis of consultations within the mixed military working group.

Fourth, heavy weapons should be concentrated [words indistinct] territory. UNPROFOR will [word indistinct] arms on [words indistinct] at the locations where the arms will be concentrated. [Passage indistinct] including guarantees for safe flights of helicopters that will patrol the area.

Fifth, it is envisaged to allow free movement, electricity, water, gas, and [words indistinct] territories, which would be to (everybody's advantage). As a symbolic move, the road Sarajevo- [word indistinct] will be [words indistinct].

[Word indistinct] the principles offered were submitted for consideration to the mixed military working groups, but the Serbian side, led by General Gvero, emphasized that it did not wish to negotiate the [word indistinct] of Sarajevo as safe haven until the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina is determined in a political way. It is evident that the aggressor is dragging his feet on the talks [words indistinct] and (?chetnik) corridors.

The delegation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army should [words indistinct] in compliance with the UN Security Council Resolution No. 824. The talks will resume after consultations, which will be carried out with the help of UNPROFOR, and for which the delegation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has already demonstrated its full cooperativeness.

Army Calls on Sarajevo Citizens To Prepare for Defense

AU0806143293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Today, (?Mesa Tefalovic), commander of the 10th Hill Brigade, called on the citizens of Sarajevo to help with the engineering [word indistinct] defense of the city. The message says:

[words indistinct] in the fateful moments for the survival of our country, which is defending itself from the destructive onslaught of resuscitated fascism, the fighters and the command of the 10th Hill Brigade are calling, via the mass media, all the citizens of Sarajevo to help us with the engineering work on (?strengthening) the defense lines of the city. [words indistinct] the legal state in many aspects of its functioning, because of which the

Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces are not serviced according to the needs and in accordance with the law. This particularly applies to forming and sending all the draftees to the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces. The defense of the homeland must (?be the responsibility) of all citizens, [words indistinct] with their abilities. The digging of the trenches and [word indistinct] of the defense lines is a priority over all other priorities. All patriotically orientated citizens should be encouraged to contact us and help us with these tasks.

You will agree with us that fighters should [word indistinct] and relieved from all work, and at the same time they should be shown that all those who do not have a gun in their hands are behind them and their just struggle. We know that you will understand our reasons, just as we know that you will respond to this call and help in many ways. This is said in the call to the citizens by the commander of the 10th Hill Brigade.

Muslims Launch Attack on Hadzici

LD0706120493 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Nedeljko Zelenovic "from the Sarajevo battlefield"]

[Excerpts] A general alert has been in force in Hadzici since 1030 this morning after the Muslims launched an artillery attack on civilian targets in the very center of Hadzici and the village of Zunovica from their strongholds in Lokvansko Polje and Gradacke Stijene. We have not received any reports about the consequences of this attack. [passage omitted]

According to the command of the Ilidza Brigade, last night numerous Muslim soldiers and civilians crossed Sarajevo airport's runway in both directions. Two strong explosions were heard last night in the airport district controlled by Islamic soldiers. We have no details about the incident but it seems that this is another case of clashes between the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units. [passage omitted]

Muslim Attacks in Srebrenica Region Reported

LD0706140393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Bratunac, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—Last night, Muslim units opened small-arms fire on Serb positions in Bukova Glava from the industrial zone in Srebrenica. TANJUG has learned from the main headquarters of the Serb republic army.

At the same time, the Serb side repelled a small-scale infantry attack on the Srebrenica-Zdenjsko-Derventa part of the front. The Muslim attacks ended when Serb forces responded from the Caus hill and from the direction of Likari and Pecista.

The fact that UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members appeared on the scene of the clash about 10 minutes after the attack was repelled is seen as Blue Helmet support for Muslim units, according to the main headquarters of the Serb republic army.

That is why a protest has been sent to the UNPROFOR command in Kiseljak, even more so because Muslim provocations have been taking place on a daily basis although the entire area of Srebrenica was demilitarized on 18 April.

According to the Serb side, negligible quantities of weapons have been surrendered so far even though all additional time-limits for the demilitarization have expired. Meanwhile, Muslim units have received additional weapons about which well-founded evidence exists.

Srebrenica 'Bleeding Again'

AU0706113093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Srebrenica Press Center report]

[Text] Srebrenica is bleeding again. Paramilitary formations of the Bosnian Serbs are insolently jeering at the international community and its inability to solve the problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Why does the U.N. Security Council adopt resolutions that its members and the powers of the world are incapable of implementing thoroughly?

Yesterday, one chetnik group from the direction of Bratunac entered the territory under the protection of the peacekeeping forces in the region of the village of (?Djeleđji), approached the village and opened fire at the unarmed and defenseless people. After 15 minutes of fire, the terrified people managed to escape to the inside of the demilitarized zone, while the aggressor's group turned back. Two children were wounded.

At 1715 [1515 GMT] and 2110 yesterday, the village of (?Prikolice) in the demilitarized zone was again exposed to a mortar attack by the aggressor from the chetnik position in Bukova Glava. At about 0800 this morning, the aggressor used an anti-aircraft machine gun from [word indistinct] against Crvena Rijeka Street, but fortunately there were no casualties. Because of the increasingly frequent mortar attacks and small arms fire by the aggressor against the territory under the protection of the peacekeeping forces, we demand that the Security Council and UNPROFOR immediately undertake all necessary measures for the protection of the endangered people of Srebrenica, for the observation of the agreement on the demilitarization, and the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 819 and 824.

We also deny the lies spread by the Belgrade media about an artillery attack by members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Srebrenica on the area of Zeleni Jadar and other positions held by the aggressor.

This is the Srebrenica Press Center reporting for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatian, PRC Presidents Hold Official Talks

*LD0706150593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Jun 93*

[Text] In the very heart of Beijing, in Tiananmen Square, in front of the Eastern Wing of the enormous building of the All-Chinese People's Congress, a formal welcoming ceremony was held in honor of Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, who is leading a Croatian delegation paying a visit to the PRC. Branko Merlin reporting from Beijing for Croatian Radio:

[Merlin] The extremely impressive formal welcoming ceremony started with the hoisting of national banners in spacious Tiananmen Square and then the Croatian and Chinese national anthems followed by 21-gun salutes. President Franjo Tudjman and his host Jiang Zemin then inspected the honor guard made up from the three arms of the Chinese Army. The ceremony, which was not too long, conducted with Chinese efficiency, immaculately elaborate, and perfectly performed, concluded with a military march and salute to the banners.

Immediately after the ceremonial welcome Presidents Tudjman and Jiang and members of the Croatian and Chinese state delegations began official talks. In his welcoming speech the Chinese president greeted the Croatian president as the first top-ranking representative of the Republic of Croatia to pay a visit to China since the two states established diplomatic relations. He also voiced pleasure that today's talks on bilateral and international issues will contribute to the development of mutual relations.

In reply, President Tudjman thanked Jiang Zemin for his invitation to visit China, pointing at China's importance among the states of the world. As has been learned unofficially, the talks between the two presidents spanned internal affairs in both countries, their foreign policies, and possibilities for cooperation. In addition to topics from international relations, in the part of their talks in connection with the situation in Croatia they also spoke about UN-protected areas and the work of the UN Protection Force.

After the talks the two presidents signed a joint statement. On behalf of the Croatian state delegation, Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mate Granic and Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen signed four interstate agreements: On cooperation between the ministries of foreign affairs, on cooperation in culture and education, on the protection and promotion of investments, and on maritime transportation.

INA Managing Director Franjo Greguric and president and [name indistinct], the executive director of (?Chinophen) signed a cooperation agreement.

Chinese President Jiang Zemin is to host a formal dinner in honor of Croatian President Tudjman and our state delegation this evening.

Assembly of Serb Krajina Meets in Petrinja

*LD0506110493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jun 93*

[Text] The leadership of rebel Serb extremists [reference to the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina] gathered in the occupied town of Petrinja this morning. According to announcements, the session will discuss the work and responsibility of the government of the rebel extremists and will vote on confidence in rebel leader Goran Hadzic.

Petrinja radio, which belongs to the forces of occupation, is carrying a live relay of the session. In the first two hours of the discussion several participants, including Mile Paspalj, asked for the current government to be replaced and that new leadership be elected.

As announced at the opening, the session will also discuss negotiations with representatives of the Croatian Government on the implementation of the Topusko agreement.

Drnis Mayor's Letter To UNPROFOR Seeks Protection

*LD0506171693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 5 Jun 93*

[Text] Drnis Mayor Ante Matic has sent a letter to Cedric Thornberry, commander of UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] Civilian Affairs, and Vladimir Seks, chairman of the Croatian State Commission for Relations With UNPROFOR, demanding urgent and effective protection of the Croats on the temporarily occupied territory of the former municipality of Drnis. According to details available to us, the Serb rebels have completely evicted the population of the village of Lisnjak [village north of Drnis], populated exclusively by Croats. Lisnjak and the fate of the villagers is only the latest example of the torture experienced by those few Croats who remained to live in their homes, the Drnis mayor says in his letter.

Valentic Discusses Croats in B-H Conflict

*AU0406171693 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Jun pp 1, 9*

[Interview with Prime Minister Nikica Valentic by Jan Zizka in Zagreb; date not given: "For Bosnia There Are No Good Solutions"]

[Text] *Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic granted an interview in Zagreb to RUDE PRAVO.*

[Zizka] Every day people are dying in the clashes between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Does your state in any way support the Bosnian Croats?

[Valentic] Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina is of vital importance to Croatia because without it, there can be no peace in Croatia. It is known that Croatia has

recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina and still today recognizes its sovereignty. Croatia was the first to sign the Vance-Owen peace plan and maintains its support for the plan. The skirmishes between the Croats and the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina are occurring on territory that, according to the plan, belongs to the Croats. We want to eliminate all causes of military clashes.

[Zizka] Nevertheless, what kind of support does Croatia proffer to the Bosnian Croats?

[Valentic] Of course, it is Croatia's moral obligation to help the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This support mostly consists of humanitarian and material help. No regular units of the Croatian Army are fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The problem is that approximately two years ago, when Croatia was attacked by Serbia, many Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina came to fight for the sovereignty of Croatia. They later returned to their homes. These people were the first to recognize that the war would also come to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Together with the Muslims, they prepared their defense against the Serbs. Therefore, weapons were spontaneously stockpiled. Some arms also came from relatives of Bosnian Croats who live in Croatia. Understandably, a large proportion of these arms were seized from the former Yugoslav Army.

[Zizka] What do you see as the reason for the conflict between the Muslims and the Croats?

[Valentic] Apparently, the reasons for the conflict are mostly political. The Muslims have lost a large amount of their territory in Bosnia, which has been occupied by Serbs, and they have tried to compensate for this by taking over traditionally Croat-populated regions. I would like to emphasize again that the battles are taking place in places that, according to the Vance-Owen plan, are supposed to be Croatian provinces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, we have encountered numerous provocations from the third side, in whose interest it is that the Croats and the Muslims fight each other.

[Zizka] The idea keeps recurring that Bosnia-Herzegovina be divided between Belgrade and Zagreb.

[Valentic] That is not the Croatian approach. It does not correspond to the Croatian policy that Serbs should never cross the Drina River. An independent Bosnian state suits Croatia perfectly. All three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina (the Serbs, the Croats, and the Muslims—ed. note) must have equal rights, which the Vance-Owen plan also demands. We have to be realistic politicians, however, and take into account all possibilities. Unfortunately, what the five ministers signed in New York (the initiative of Russia, the United States, Britain, France, and Spain—ed. note) could actually lead to the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croatian Government still believes that the Vance-Owen plan is the least harmful solution. Unfortunately, there are no good solutions for Bosnia.

[Zizka] Do you really believe that the joint action plan will result in the partition of Bosnia?

[Valentic] As prime minister, I must be very careful. Nevertheless, I want to be really frank now. Not a single important world politician has shown a principled stance in the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. Not even those who drafted it. The entire international community has no feasible solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore it is neither fair nor correct to expect Croatia alone to provide a real and complex way out. If you analyze in detail certain items of international agreements, you can find elements that are conducive to a possible partition of Bosnia in the future.

[Zizka] So, you would not rule out the possibility that if the Bosnian Croats expressed their wish to be annexed to Croatia, Zagreb would comply.

[Valentic] We have complete understanding for Bosnian Croats who want to live in Croatia. As the Croatian state, however, we do not support this idea. A year ago, for instance, we exercised our authority and convinced the Bosnian Croats not to call for annexation to Croatia.

[Zizka] I have heard it said that the next war in the former Yugoslavia will again be in Croatia. How do you think the situation will develop in the Croatian territory controlled by local Serbs?

[Valentic] First of all, we are talking about a Croatian territory, and this has never been questioned in any international document—not even in those otherwise antagonistic toward Croatia. The only issue that can be questioned is the matter of the manner in which Croatian sovereignty can be reestablished on this territory. We are doing our best to achieve this by peaceful means. We have adopted the Law on Territorial Arrangements, which stipulates that there should be districts with special rights wherever the Serbian population has a majority. Our Constitution and laws guarantee minority rights according to the strictest of international criteria. We propose talks with the Serbs, but they ignore our proposals. We must exhaust all peaceful means in seeking a solution before we decide on any other measures. I must emphasize, however, that the Serbs living in Croatia are not independent in their decision making. They merely follow Belgrade. Hence, it might not be a war in Croatia so much as a war between two states.

[Zizka] Do you believe that a compromise between Croatia and the Croatian Serbs is possible?

[Valentic] Serbia has not yet recognized Croatia as a sovereign state. In this situation, the Serbs in Croatia serve as means of duress on Croatia.

[Zizka] Concerns are frequently voiced abroad that Croats have difficulties living with the Serbian majority, and the same applies to Serbs in Croatia. The Law on

Citizenship raises questions as it allegedly requires a Croatian citizen to respect Croatian traditions and accept Croatian culture.

[Valentic] If you take a single sentence out of context, you may get the wrong picture. This law has been compared abroad to all principal European norms. I have heard many foreign commentaries but never any objections to the text. There were only doubts regarding Serbs who were not granted Croatian citizenship. Of tens of thousands of applications, however, only 40 or 50 were turned down. The problem remains the same—Belgrade is using the Serbs in Croatia to obtain access to the sea. For Serbia, no regime in Croatia will be acceptable that advocates sovereignty of the country. It is reassuring, however, that all the time more and more Serbs are beginning to understand that they have been used by the Belgrade regime. Moreover, there are many more Serbs living on free Croatian territory than on territory under Serbian control.

[Zizka] There have been doubts voiced, however, even in the Council of Europe....

[Valentic] First of all, the war is still going on here. A state of war is always a breeding ground for extreme right-wing tendencies. Nevertheless, both the extreme right and the extreme left are in a minority in Croatia. I will tell you very frankly—they are glad in the West to be able to point out our lapses so that they can justify their apportioning of the blame equally between the Serbs and the Croats. It is important to distinguish whether Europe is being deaf to the open aggression, or whether it is just an ethnic conflict that has arisen here. In the latter instance, the West can wash its hands and disclaim any responsibility.

Opposition Leader on 'Fascism' Imposed by Tudjman

AU0406173193 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 93 p 7

[Slobodan Pavlovic report: "Paraga: Tudjman and Milosevic Are Dividing Bosnia"]

[Text] Dobroslov Paraga, head of the Croatian Party of Rights, has recently been picking up political points in Washington, points that he is soon going to need for use back home. Paraga is soon to return to Zagreb, where he is expecting his trial to open on charges of attempting to overthrow the regime and acquire power with the help of his paramilitary forces.

"I am not afraid of the trial. On the contrary, I am awaiting it impatiently, as it will be a unique opportunity to tell the public about the fascism that Tudjman has imposed on Croatia," the controversial leader of the Croatian Party of Rights tells us when asked how risky the case is for him (the Supreme Court of Croatia acquitted him a year and a half ago, but Tudjman then replaced the president of the court and forced the Army to resume the trial against Paraga).

In the mid-1980's, when he was a dissident, Dobroslov Paraga spent a long time in Washington. At the last elections, his party won almost 7 percent of votes and he won a seat in the Croatian Assembly.

After war broke out in Croatia, the conflict between Paraga and Tudjman became open and merciless. They have accused each other of fascism. The leader of the Croatian Party of Rights has been particularly insistent on that recently in his speeches in Washington where he traveled on a Slovene passport (he has dual citizenship, so he could do this even though the court in Zagreb had confiscated his Croatian passport from him).

At a news conference the day before yesterday and then in a conversation with this correspondent, Paraga made the fiercest of accusations against Tudjman for abolishing democracy, relentlessly imposing one-party rule, suppressing the independent media, and committing three attempted murders that he [Paraga], as he put it, survived only by chance.

However, that is not all.

"There are many similarities in the methods and policies of Tudjman and Milosevic, and these are now particularly evident in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have proof of their agreement in Karadjordjevo about dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as about the agreement between their deputies Boban and Karadzic in Graz, where they talked about exchanging population and territories," Paraga has been saying recently in several places in Washington, accusing in particular members of the Croatian Defense Council for serious crimes against the Muslim population, as well as for attacks against UNPROFOR.

Proclaiming Tudjman "an unscrupulous dictator" whose people have so far liquidated 26 prominent members of his [Paraga's] party, in his Washington speeches Paraga demanded U.S. support in defending Croatian democracy and called upon the media to go to Zagreb and report on his trial.

"Serbian autonomy in Croatia is out of question. The Krajina problem must be solved militarily. We do not recognize the Vance-Owen plan to divide Bosnia into 10 provinces, as we are of the opinion that with that plan the war is being made permanent in that region and Serbian aggression is being rewarded," the leader of the Croatian right-wing party says about the key issues of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and pointed out that, for him, the Serbs in Croatia are "citizens like everybody else who cannot have either more or fewer rights than everybody else."

In the statements he made in Washington, the chairman of the Croatian Party of Rights resolutely rejected accusations about the fascist image of his party and of the paramilitary units of the Croatian Defense Forces. The explanation he gave in this respect runs that members of the Croatian Party of Rights are "forbidden to use

Ustasha insignia and symbols," while he cannot control his armed forces in this regard because he is "not their commander."

On Wednesday, a group of 12 congressmen sent a letter to Clinton warning of Tudjman's authoritarian tendencies, "taking the Croatian Party of Rights under their protection, and demanding that the U.S. President advocates the liberation of the media and democratic elections in Croatia under international control."

Paraga says that he has completed his mission in Washington and that he can now return to Zagreb and appear before the military court.

Further on Tudjman Letter to UN Chief

LD0406151193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butros Butrus-Ghali. In it he stresses his gratitude for all the efforts the United Nations has invested in putting an end to the war and in promoting peace on Croatian soil. He says:

Now that decisions are being made about the extension of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate in the Republic of Croatia and about UNPROFOR's powers, as well as about further measures aimed at ending the war and implementing the peace plan in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I turn you to help prevent the situation from deteriorating and reach a peaceful solution.

First, the Serb aggression against the Republic of Croatia, a UN member, is continuing in the protected areas. Armed provocations and attacks on Croatian towns—Zadar, Biograd, Sibenik, Gospic—are lately being stepped up. Homes are being destroyed and human lives are being taken.

Likewise, terror against the local people, detentions and harassment of the Croats and other non-Serb persons are escalating in the protected areas, where several thousand volunteers from Serbia are the most active in all sectors.

The Serb side has unilaterally broken off negotiations with representatives of the Government of the Republic of Croatia. Mile Paspalj, speaker of the self-styled assembly of the so-called republic of Serb Krajina, has convened a session of the Krajina assembly for Saturday, 5 June, in Petrinja, which will discuss whether to call a referendum on the unification of the republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic and other Serb lands.

This is tantamount to a call for unification with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, Serbia and Montenegro, with the aim of creating a Greater Serbia. It is obvious that the aggressive policy pursued by Belgrade and ringleaders of the Serb rebellion in the Republic of Croatia is gaining strength, which is evident in the refusal to accept all relevant UN resolutions and decisions of the international legal order with the aim of

taking parts of the territories of two sovereign UN members, the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is understandable that such a stand is totally unacceptable to the Republic of Croatia, because it is contrary to UN Charter and all Security Council resolutions, and specifically Security Council Resolution 815 which states explicitly that the protected areas are integral parts of the Republic of Croatia.

Second, there is an increasing number of calls and statements made in the FR Y Assembly demanding that the Prevlaka peninsula be recovered, which does not show that the situation is normalizing but rather that open threats and territorial claims are being made against the Republic of Croatia.

Third, the dramatic situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is also deteriorating. Battles are being waged with numerous military and civilian casualties, and casualties are rising among members of humanitarian organizations and UNPROFOR soldiers. The established aid corridors are not being respected. Despite all the efforts of the international community, humanitarian aid is not arriving regularly at its destination.

Because of all this, and especially because of the lack of an efficient decision by the international community to implement the already adopted UN Security Council resolutions, we are extremely concerned about further developments. In line with the objective of Croatian policy—that is, the end of the aggression and the creation of preconditions for peace—we resolutely demand:

In line with UN Security Council Resolution 769 and Resolutions 757, 787, and 820 on sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, it is necessary to establish international control of and to secure the international borders of the Republic of Croatia with the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, Serbia and Montenegro, where they adjoin the protected areas.

In connection with the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and unfounded accusations that Croatia is involved in internal clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we propose that UNPROFOR undertake effective control of all borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This means that we accept that, within the framework of all borders of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the entire border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and not just areas adjoining the protected areas, should be under international control.

I am convinced that the supervision of borders is more than necessary and that is a key measure to end the

aggression and the war and to reach a peaceful solution in line with UN Security Council resolutions.

I ask you, Mr. Secretary General, to accept my assurances that you can count on Croatia continuing to be ready to implement all relevant UN Security Council resolutions so that a lasting and stable peace is established in the former Yugoslavia.

In spite of all the gravity and tragedy of the situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia cannot and must not be a hostage of these events, but the world community should actively turn to resolving the urgent problem of the protected areas in Croatia and the problem of militant spirit of the insurgent Serbs there.

I believe that this issue can be resolved separately from the issue of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that a successful implementation of the Vance plan in the protected areas would have a strategic and positive impact on encouraging the full implementation of the Vance-Owen plan in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatia will be ready to extend the UNPROFOR mandate on the basis of clearly defined guidelines for the implementation of the Vance plan and relevant Security Council resolutions.

Your role, Mr. Secretary General, in resolving the crisis in former Yugoslavia is of the crucial importance.

To satisfy yourself concerning the seriousness of events in the Republic of Croatia and to be able to see for yourself on the ground the real possibilities that exist for a peaceful solution for the general benefit of all its citizens, I invite you to visit the Republic of Croatia. You will be a welcome guest, and your visit would greatly help the search for a solution.

I ask you, Your Excellency, to accept my deepest respect, concludes the letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali from Franjo Tudjman, which the president's office forwarded to HINA last night.

Power Struggle in Army, Defense Ministry

93BA1069D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 May 93 p 5

[Article by Kresimir Meler and Mirjana Glusac: "Frictions in the Croatian Army"]

[Text] *Conflicts over the HDZ's [Croatian Democratic Community's] absolute supremacy in controlling the state have spread to the defense area as well; disputes over Bobetko's successor.*

From our contributors.

After a big purge in the Croatian Office for State Security and in the Croatian Railroads, when all those who were not sufficiently obedient to the HDZ hawks or once worked for UDBA [State Security Administration] were

removed, and former Framatom official and Westinghouse representative Hrvoje Sarinic (it is certain that he was also previously "handled" by foreign intelligence services) and Tudjman's son Miroslav were put at the head of the UNS [National Security Service], the conflicts over the HDZ's absolute supremacy in controlling the state spread to very dangerous and slippery ground—the Croatian Army and the Defense Ministry.

It must be acknowledged that relations in the Croatian Army and the Defense Ministry have never been exemplary, except possibly during the first months. Even during the battles for Vukovar there was a sharp conflict within the ZNG [National Guard Corps] command at that time over the defense of that city, and also over the situation in other battlefields. Commanders were mostly appointed on the basis of party membership, i.e., membership in the HDZ. That was a catastrophically bad decision, because those people did not know anything. Officers who deserted from the former JLA [Yugoslav People's Army] were removed, because in the opinion of the group for informational-propaganda activity it was "very likely that their inclusion in the battles at the front could hurt Croatia's defense, since they had not been checked."

Among the first to suffer from that was the present commander of the essentially nonexistent RZ and PVO [air force and air defense], Major General Imra Agotic, who was for some time the KOS [military counterintelligence] chief at the Pleso airport in Zagreb. Although he left the JLA illegally (General Vasiljevic had previously removed him from his position), Vice Vukojevic and Vladimir Seks accused him of "being engaged in selling out Croatia," because of the completely true statement that the Bihac airport was only partly on Croatian territory. The planned removal of Agotic and through him General Tus did not succeed then simply because it was clear even to Tudjman that he needed them then at that time. He nevertheless did not cease to listen to the Seks-Vukojevic-Mercep lobby, and he simply sent weapons intended for the defense of Vukovar and eastern Slavonia to western Herzegovina, through the intervention of former pizzeria owner and present Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak, who was born in Siroki Brijeg (formerly Listica) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but according to documents in that same area, but in Croatia.

That happened after a closed meeting between HDZ hawks and President Tudjman, at which it was decided "that the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be equipped as well as possible for resistance to the JLA and any other forces that would want to put the Croats in some sort of unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina. Consequently, logistical assistance should be provided for those parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Croatian population is dominant, and the borders of the Croatian ethnic area should be effectively protected. (...) It is urgently necessary to organize the local authorities and, in cooperation with the central authorities in Zagreb, to take care of

personnel solutions in such a way that the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ would not be an opposition to the Zagreb center, but rather a reliable agent of it."

Although that whole action took place in secrecy, people found out about it anyway. Thus, a group of professional soldiers and HDZ members wrote President Tudjman a letter in which they pointed out "that interference in political affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina at this time could be dangerous to Croatia's defense. Any sort of establishment of ethnic communities that would have their own armed forces would mean recognition of the Serbian forces in Croatia, and also of the JLA, which is fighting on their side. In the long term, this could threaten Croatia's interests in the international arena."

Transfers of "Salon Officers"

President Tudjman pretended that he had not received the letter. The HDZ hawks at the Defense Ministry behaved the same way; they absolutely could not get over the fact that "some suspect newcomers from the JLA and salon officers are interfering in the strategy for protecting the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the establishment of a community that would have to have its own political and administrative organization, and also organized defense and internal affairs." They succeeded in having General Tus transferred from the position of chief of the General Staff to the almost insignificant position of an adviser. General Agotic became commander of the nonexistent air force and air defense, after an adroitly planned scandal and the insinuation that 15 years ago he had participated in the murder of emigre Bruno Busic, and Josip Perkovic was also removed from the position of chief of the SIS [Security Information Service]; after his retirement he received the insignificant position of an adviser at the Defense Ministry. Two other former JLA officers, Mile Dedakovic-Jastrebovic and Branko Borkovic, also called the Little Hawk, who knew a lot of things about the fall of Vukovar and those who were to blame for it, also had to leave the HV [Croatian Army].

The above-mentioned Seks-Vukojevic-Mercep group squeezed them into positions in which they did not dare to make a move on their own account. Instead of them, HDZ veterans, headed by General Janko Bobetko and Gojko Susak, were appointed to key positions in the HV and the Defense Ministry.

That was still not enough for the HDZ hawks, however. Consequently, the former service for informational-propaganda activity (which recently became the political administration) sent President Tudjman and the conservative group in the HDZ a report analyzing "certain phenomena in the HV General Staff and the Defense Ministry." This top secret report said, among other things, "that there are still many veterans of the homeland war who have not yet received any rank to this very day, even though they were at the front from the first day. If ranks are not distributed and the newcomers from

the JLA remain in key positions, this may have undesirable consequences, especially since the latter, just like some other high officers, did not participate in the HDZ's ranks from the very beginning, but rather joined the HDZ in order to stay in the HV and the Defense Ministry. The JLA did not lose anything by their departure, and the question is how much the HV and Croatia's defense gained from them. We emphasize that if the influence of several generals is not reduced and depoliticization of the HV is allowed, so many active officers would systematically leave the HV that it would mean the HV's collapse."

The other faction in the HV also sent a letter, to which there was no response, in contrast to the IPD [Informational-Propaganda Activity] letter. According to its authors, "insisting on re-introducing party organization in the HV in crisis situations could be extremely dangerous to democracy and the constitutional order. We likewise think that the Assembly or a coordinating group of opposition parties would necessarily have to oversee the SIS."

Although the opposition in the Assembly, i.e., in the Chamber of Parishes, insisted on eliminating the article allowing officers to belong to parties (it is prohibited for judges in Croatia), a decision was actually adopted several days before the Croatian parliament's session that "voting for depoliticization of the HV is unacceptable for HDZ deputies."

These are still not all of the frictions in the Defense Ministry and the Croatian army. In circles that favor Mercep and Praljko, claims appeared and even letters according to which "some officers are inclined toward ideas that are close to the ideas of the Belgrade careerists, and enhance the power of the enemy army, thereby limiting the HV's actions. We even suspect that some of them are reporting to foreign intelligence services about the HV's plans and intentions, and consequently, as part of the HV's reorganization, it is necessary to remove from it all those officers who are associated or included in that activity."

Poets Among Generals

A negative selection thus began, and now it is already a real art to find an influential general who knows anything. Overnight people who yesterday were still poets, professors, or businessmen have become generals, just because they had good connections with the HDZ leadership, and especially with the Herzegovina and "Glavas-Mercep line." They skipped over the lower ranks in a way that was not even done just before the end in the JLA.

A real farce is occurring in the very leadership of the HV and in the Defense Ministry. Ranks are being distributed through all possible connections, and thus even a chauffeur who drove policemen to the failed Plitvice action in April 1991 has become an officer. In the meantime, a

person who deserted from the JLA has made negligible progress, even though he participated extensively in the battles around Dubrovnik.

There is even worse friction over who will succeed General Bobetko, chief of the HV's General Staff. As we know, his predecessor, Tus, ended up in the extremely insignificant position of an adviser. The conservative Herzegovina-Mercep faction, which advocates the liberation of Croatian territories through decisive military action, the expulsion of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the "liberation of Herceg-Bosna from the Muslims and Serbs, and consistent demarcation with Slovenia, with the military option not being ruled out," has several candidates for Bobetko's successor, but none of them would pass any serious test of the knowledge needed for that position.

The opposing faction also has its own candidate, a general and deserter from the JLA who already proved his loyalty to the Croatian state a long time ago. The SIS, however, which from now on will also be legally controlled to the extent permitted by the committee on domestic policy (which, once again, includes advocates of a conservative line), has started to manipulate information about his having some sort of shady past. It is thus now claiming that before the first free elections, he was the one who offered Racan the JLA's support against the HDZ and other right-wing parties. He is judged

harshly because he belongs to a faction that advocates that Croatia isolate the HZ HB [Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna], renounce any assistance to that parastatal entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and remove all those who made the mess, and also because it advocates demilitarization of the entire border with Slovenia, the removal of parties from the HV, and an absolute ban on HV officers' belonging to parties. It also wonders "who guarantees that the right-wing faction in the HDZ will not exploit party obedience as a weapon for surviving in power if there were social unrest or if it lost the elections." It is almost certain that the chief of the General Staff will not be the deserter, but rather one of the Herzegovina generals, who is known in the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna for the phrase, "The Serbs do not have the strength to start a war in Bosnia."

If we take all this into account, it will become clear to us that the right-wing faction will almost certainly win in the HDZ and the HV, and that the HDZ will assume complete control over the army and the police. The constant emphasis on how many HDZ members and how many members of other parties have died for Croatia supports this assertion, as well as the fact that the HV is becoming a party army, as the former JLA was. Croatia's neighbors obviously will not be able to close their eyes in peace for a long time. It may also turn out that the victory of the HDZ's right-wing faction was also a Pyrrhic victory for Croatia.

U.S. Defense Secretary Accepts Invitation

LD0706220693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa declared at a news conference today that he had invited U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin to visit Slovenia and that the invitation was accepted.

Jansa met with Les Aspin and the Robert Chelberg, chief of staff of the U.S. European Command, at the opening of the European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen two days ago.

According to the Slovene defense minister, the task of this center is the creation of a new security system in the world following the end of the cold war.

Economic Agreement Signed With Japan

93BA1052B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 May 93 p 3

[Article by L.J.: "There Are No Obstacles to Better Cooperation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 May—The beginning of a news conference on a Japanese economic delegation's visit to Slovenia was unusual: Hideo Suzuki and Metod Dragonju signed an agreement on the mutual cooperation of the Japanese-Slovene and Slovene-Japanese economic council.

The agreement, which is otherwise only in general terms, expresses the determination of both sides to intensify commodity trade and other forms of economic cooperation, among which Japanese investments in Slovenia were particularly emphasized. Technical support on the Japanese side will be provided by the semigovernmental organization ROTOBO, and on the Slovene side by the Slovene Chamber of Commerce. It was also agreed that Slovenia would participate in an October meeting in Osaka and at that time also organize a business conference in Osaka and Tokyo. A great deal has been achieved, if we take into account the fact that the Slovene-Japanese economic council was only established in March 1993. In fact, Slovene enterprises are very interested in cooperation with Japan, since representatives of 69 Slovene enterprises talked with the Japanese guests.

The head of the Japanese delegation, Hideo Suzuki, emphasized that this was the first visit by Japanese businessmen to Slovenia since it had been an independent state, and added, "In three days we could not conclude specific agreements, but we determined that numerous possibilities exist." He mentioned tourism and the food industry, he praised the achievements of Slovene biotechnology, he said that we could expect an increase in Japanese transportation through the Koper Port, and he said that they were enthusiastic about their visit to two wine cellars and the wine that they tried there.

In the Japanese guests' opinion, there are no obstacles in Japanese regulations to a substantial increase in trade, but they deplored the infrastructure in Slovenia—from hotel capacities to highways—and they mentioned that Japan

could perhaps participate in improving it. The inflation also bothers them. "We are glad that in a full year you have come from hyperinflation to a rate of around 1 percent a month, but we hope that the growth of prices will be even lower in the future," Hideo Suzuki said.

Germany Promises Economic, Financial Cooperation

93BA1015E Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 May 93 p 16

[Article by Damijan Slabe: "Germany Will Support Slovenia"]

[Text] Finance Minister Gaspari and his counterpart Waigel in Bonn agreed on economic and financial cooperation; technical assistance also promised.

From our correspondent.

Bonn, 6 May—Slovene Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari paid a short working visit today to German Finance Minister Theo Waigel, with whom he discussed primarily future economic and financial cooperation between the states, and German assistance to Slovenia. Gaspari informed his host about the situation in Slovenia, and he and Waigel also talked about Slovene participation in international financial institutions (the IMF, the World and European Banks...), where Germany is an important partner for Slovenia, and at the same time they also touched upon the regulation of Slovenia's debts (the Paris Club), the resolution of this issue with the commercial banks, and bilateral cooperation between the finance ministries of both states.

As German Finance Minister Waigel said after the talks, he was very satisfied with the assessment of the situation in Slovenia, which he said had already succeeded in detaching itself from the Balkan crisis and achieving more than most other East and Central European states. Consequently, in the future German support will primarily focus on normalizing relations with Slovenia as soon as possible and putting them on the same basis as with all European countries. That applies both to the issue of customs, taxes, investments, and their protection, and also to all other bilateral cooperation.

Also, according to Slovene Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari, this part of the talks on Slovene cooperation with international financial institutions and German support for Slovenia on this took place with complete agreement between their views and with clearly expressed German support for the solutions proposed by the Slovene government. Bilaterally, Ministers Gaspari and Waigel spoke primarily about how the German Finance Ministry could help in developing finance in Slovenia. They specifically agreed on German assistance and technical aid in the area of customs legislation, the preparation

and implementation of the budget, and also in establishing the so-called budget court. In fact, Germany has a great deal of experience in this area of controlling public finances, and the Slovene Finance Ministry also has to prepare a law on the budget court, through which it will be possible to control the spending of budget funds and all public finances, which will remove any doubts. As Minister Gaspari stated, German experts are soon to visit Slovenia for concrete assistance in this area, while both ministries are also to agree on similar assistance in other financial areas as well.

In the area of investments, the ministers discussed an agreement to protect them that is to be prepared for signature as early as the end of the month, and concrete preparations are also to begin for concluding an agreement on preventing dual taxation, which the states are to conclude by fall. In this regard, Minister Gaspari emphasized that he had received assurances from Minister Waigel that within the limits of his jurisdiction he would influence the promotion of investment cooperation, but that concrete cooperation, of course, depended primarily on cooperation between chambers of commerce and individual enterprises.

[Box, p 16]

Of course, the fact that the financial situation in Slovenia is being normalized, as demonstrated, for example, by Hermes, which is no longer treating Slovenia as a risky state in insuring investments, is already great progress, as is the fact that all other bilateral financial cooperation is also being normalized. Among other things, Minister Gaspari said that he had expressed a desire to Minister Waigel for greater involvement by German banks in Slovenia, and that this desire had encountered a favorable response because of the normalization of the Slovene situation.

Cooperation With Hungarian Police Discussed

93BA1069C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene
20 May 93 p 24

[Article by Miran Subic: "In Crime, We Are Already European"]

[Text] Brnik, 20 May—"During this brief visit, my Hungarian counterpart and I jokingly noted that unfortunately in this aspect—i.e., crime—we are quite close to developed Europe, which otherwise we both want to join," Interior Minister Ivo Bizjak said yesterday after signing an agreement with his Hungarian counterpart, Dr. Peter Boross.

The agreement mentions cooperation between the two countries' police forces, especially in the area of terrorism, drug trafficking, and the struggle against organized crime. The fact that our ministers are not just going around with fountain pens is proven by the coordination of several other areas (railroad transportation, natural disasters) which the interior minister handled by agreement with other ministers in our government.

"We talked about general cooperation, and of course about operational, everyday cooperation. In this regard we touched upon the neighboring area, i.e., the vicinity of the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the difficulties in connection with it. Transit from the entire EC, so to speak, passes through Hungarian territory, and clearly we also touched upon the pass at Dolga Vas, where the situation could be improved in several ways—from expanding the pass, to redirection to the Pince pass, and also 24-hour work by some services, especially on the Hungarian side. We also talked about turning back foreigners (especially Romanians) at the common border, so there should not be any more difficulties there. In drug trafficking, new smuggling routes are being opened up, and consequently the agreement is a true basis for concrete cooperation."

State Secretary Bogo Brvar added in this regard that the exchange of information does not mean violating the secrecy of personal information specified by law, and he mentioned that the Hungarians do not have any particular experience with some forms of organized crime, but we have in common the growth of economic crime in connection with privatization. The routes for stolen automobiles also lead to the east, and it is therefore important for personnel on both sides of the border to cooperate.

Parliamentary Committee Discusses Border Issues

93BA1069E Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene
22 May 93 p 6

[Article by Roger Gogala: "Mysterious Drawing of the State Border"]

[Text] Zmago Jelencic, SNS [Slovene National Party] leader: "In closed meetings we are selling the Slovene homeland"; the Croats are to offer Minister Lojze Peterle the sea in exchange for road corridors.

Ljubljana, 22 May—Yesterday the parliamentary commission on international relations met behind closed doors. At that meeting, the already published maps with the border drawn between Slovenia and Croatia were shown, as a secret. Against all the expectations of those who are fighting for our republic's free access to the open sea—to international waters—those present were, among other things, "surprised" by Lojze Peterle and Dr. Borut Bohte (chairman of the expert commission for analyzing the border problem with the Republic of Croatia, which is working under the Foreign Ministry), since they did not want at all to listen to proposals from the members of the commission on international relations.

In spite of the closed doors, we succeeded in finding out what happened yesterday at the Geodetic Institute, where the commission on international relations met for a long time. Judge Mitja Deisinger, who sent a letter several days ago to all the more important republic leaders warning about the mistaken strategy of our foreign policy, also appeared at that meeting as a special

guest. In the letter, which virtually all the Slovene public media have begun to mention, he emphasized among other things that the sentence "We are not afraid of international arbitration" had no basis in international law and was a trap with respect to the Slovene sea. Yesterday M.A. Deisinger also repeated his positions to all those present.

Specifically, if we were to insist on a border on the Dragonja (as the initial point on land), international arbitration would certainly look for a compromise and draw the sea border through the middle of Piran Bay. Further on in the letter, he also wrote:

"In the negotiations with Croatia, our state must already present completely different demands now if it wants to keep what it had in its possession before independence. Several reasons support a demand for all the territory of the former Zone B of the Free Trieste Territory up to the Mirna River (that zone was administered by Slovenia until 1954), and in any case a demand for all the territory of the Piran municipality, i.e., including the land-registry municipalities of Savudrija and Kastel, would be justified. Only that kind of demand would make it possible for us to obtain from international arbitration the territory that we were denied after 1954, because of a verbal agreement between Bakaric and Kardelj, which cannot be considered a legal basis for demarcation before international arbitration." With respect to the land-registry border, it is true that the planners of the border between Croatia and Slovenia are taking it into account. The Croats also agree with it, and it is just in Savudrija that our neighbors do not want to hear anything about the land-registry border.

"I would not like to participate in an undertaking that has no chance of success," Minister Peterle said yesterday during the discussion. With this introductory sentence, we were told some details yesterday about the meeting "behind closed doors" by Zmago Jelencic, the leader of the SNS. "Peterle also said," Jelencic continued, "that the situation on the borders should remain the same as it was at the time of independence. Slovenia has to fight for a reputation in the world. Does that mean that we will have a reputation in the world, and Croatia will have our territory? And why weren't we shown yesterday the graphic portrayal of the border under number 8, which also has the border drawn on the Mirna River as one of the alternatives?"

According to Zmago Jelencic, Lojze Peterle also said that some sort of trade would still be necessary in all of this. During the latest negotiations, the Croats allegedly offered the Piran Bay, namely in exchange for a road corridor in the direction of Pyhrn, i.e., Croatia-Austria. By the way, the Croats also want such a corridor toward Trieste. Lojze Peterle and Dr. Borut Bohte did not take any firm position on the proposals that the border should be on the Mirna or at least along the borders of the Piran municipality on the Savudrija peninsula.

"With that kind of position on our border issues, I wonder who those two gentlemen are working for?" Zmago Jelencic wondered. "The Croatian negotiators can be extremely satisfied with them. That is why I, as a member of the commission on international relations, am raising the issue of the jurisdiction of the commission for analyzing the border problem. Furthermore, I can say that Bohte's commission is working behind parliament's back, since so far it still has not sent it a single report. At yesterday's meeting, M.A. Mitja Deisinger was the only one who professionally advocated state-building concepts on a historical, national, and legal basis. Let me also say that we did not record the meeting, perhaps so that those present could change their positions later on."

One more map, designated A, was also shown yesterday at the commission's meeting. The Slovene-Croatian border is drawn on it, and furthermore also (but why?) the municipal borders along the state border. If international arbitration saw that border, Zmago Jelencic pointed out, it would draw the border through the middle of those borders, which would mean that we would lose Krsko, Ilirska Bistrica, Kocevje, Novo Mesto, Ptuj, and much else. "Are we selling Slovene territory?" the SNS leader wondered.

"On my own behalf and on behalf of the SNS party, I demand that those meetings be open in the future. If they are closed, we are hiding events from Slovenes, namely the fact that some people are selling their homeland," emphasized Zmago Jelencic, who also added: "I do not want to bear on my soul the Slovene people's accusations that we sold the homeland during the time when I was a deputy."

Border issues will probably also be discussed by the State Assembly as early as next week—more successfully, we hope, than its commission did yesterday.

Railways To Conform to European Standards

93BA1035A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 May 93 p 4

[Article by Gordana Pipan: "Railroads Will Be Adapted to European Standards"]

[Text] They are to become suitable for 22.5-metric-ton axle pressures and for piggyback traffic; Marjan Rekar announced greater centralization of operations and control.

Ljubljana, 13 May—Marjan Rekar, the new director of the Slovene Railroads, spoke to journalists today about the development of and the plans for the revival of the Slovene Railroads, which ended last year with somewhat more than 9 billion tolar in losses. As he says, he views the railroads in a positivist way, which means that he will seek solutions primarily through more aggressive marketing and operations for the Slovene Railroads, and not by eliminating trains.

As he announced, more centralization of operations and especially of control awaits the Slovene Railroads. The

excessive number of employees will also be solved through internal reassignments. They are also thinking about an internal labor exchange. Comparisons with the Austrian, Portuguese, German, and Swiss railroads, in fact, have shown that there are still too many employees at the Slovene Railroads, namely by approximately 20 to 25 percent. Productivity is also low, since it is twice as low as that of the railroads in other European countries. According to Rekar, the new leadership (the new board of directors, half of which will consist of outside members, will be known at the end of the month) will also try to eliminate slow trips on Slovene railroad lines. On the Koper-Sentilj line, in fact, there are 28 slow sections. Also disturbing is the low speed of the trains, since freight trains "rush" at an average speed of 31 kilometers, and passenger trains at an average speed of 51 kilometers per hour. According to Rekar, 60 kilometers of railroad lines are to be renovated per year, which means that at that rate all 1,201 kilometers of the Slovene railroad lines could be renovated in 18 years.

As they say at the railroad, Slovene railroad lines are also to be adapted to European standards for axle pressures, i.e., to 22.5-ton axle pressures, and also for piggyback traffic.

In fact, there is a danger that international railroad traffic will bypass Slovenia, even though the Slovene railroad network has also been taken into account in several European plans for rapid railroad links, such as, for example, the long-term plan for the European railroad infrastructure and the European agreement on the most important international railroad lines. Since the Koper port would also be seriously affected by the isolation of the Slovene railroad in international traffic, the port and the railroad are planning joint action abroad. They are also supposed to open joint representations in Vienna and Hungary. The link with Hungary, in fact, is also important for international traffic. The construction of 30.5 kilometers of a new railroad line, which should be suitable for international traffic, will cost \$60 million.

In renovating the railroad lines, they will also make use of money from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has already approved a three-year loan in the amount of \$60 million. This loan and the Slovene Railroads' own money is to be used to renovate 171 kilometers of railroad lines and replace 50 kilometers of the transportation networks. The entire project will cost \$104 million, but there is no money for these renovations in this year's budget.

According to Director Rekar, the railroad will not operate without losses this year either. They expect, however, that the losses this year will amount to less than 10 percent of last year's. This year, transportation earnings should bring the railroad 14.8 billion tolar—12.7 billion from freight transportation and 2.1 billion tolar from passenger transportation. This year's costs should also be approximately 10 percent lower than last year's. The financial situation is not enviable this month either.

According to Rekar, they have not yet settled obligations amounting to approximately 840 million tolar, almost half of which they owe to foreign railroad administrations.

In response to a question about the new train schedule, which will go into effect on 23 May, Rekar answered that it was still a legacy of the old leadership of the railroad and the board of directors. It eliminates four trains, which traveled almost completely empty, but the green train between Ljubljana and Murska Sobota is left, whereas the green train between Metlika and Ljubljana has been replaced by an ordinary train. Two traditional international links, namely between Vienna and Trieste and Budapest and Trieste through Maribor, are new. The elimination of the freight stations, according to the people at the railroad, will not affect customers, since they will still be able to pick up packages, but according to a specific schedule.

Drnovsek's First 100 Days Assessed

93BA1015B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 May 93 p 3

[Article by Marko Pecaver: "First Hundred Days"]

[Text] The new Slovene Government's 100th day is marked by scandals. The 100th day after the new government assumed its duties is customarily supposed to be the one when the first assessment of its activity is made. It is also customary that the government is supposed to be left in peace during those first 100 days without being the target of attacks of one kind or another. In the first 100 days, Drnovsek's government did not receive that peace. It is true, however, that it did not particularly seek it.

If it were not for the now already notorious Hit-VIS [Security-Information Service] scandal, this government's first 100 days would probably have been remembered for our not having anything in particular to remember. The government's activity was mostly marked by continuity with the previous government, which was likewise headed by Dr. Janez Drnovsek, even though the government coalition then had different political colors. The main rift in the government's political orientation already happened with the vote of no confidence in Lojze Peterle's government, when Dr. Drnovsek assumed the office of prime minister, and the coalition of newly emerged parties was criticized by the coalition that was mostly composed of successors of the former sociopolitical organizations. With the formation of the present government coalition, the new-old prime minister, because of the unexpected ratios in the election results, had considerable difficulties, and the formula by which the coalition was formed was quite original. Specifically, it is hard to say that we have either a left-wing or a right-wing or a centrist government; it is rather a sort of "nonaggression pact" among the three largest parties from all three blocs. The views that the coalition partners divided up "areas of influence among the government ministries" were confirmed with the

appointment of the state secretaries and other government officials. It is understandable that with so much diversity in the government coalition it is hard to form anything more than a general program that defines only minimal common goals. The government offered parliament documents that could be described as program ones, but pragmatism remained its basic orientation. It could also be interpreted as a lack or incapability of vision.

Upon his election, Dr. Drnovsek promised that the government would devote attention primarily to economic issues: income policy, public finances, and foreign trade and industrial policy. It is undoubtedly adhering to this, and can also show some results. In particular, it can boast of a continuing decline in the monthly rate of inflation. Monetary policy is generally the more successful part of the government story. It can also boast of successes in our state's inclusion in international financial and other institutions, in creating an institutional framework for entering new foreign markets, with the recently signed package of agreements with the Czech Republic possibly turning out to be particularly successful. On the other hand, the basic economic indicators show retrogression. Industrial production is declining, and exports likewise, unemployment is increasing, and public spending is growing. The freeze on wages did not yield the desired results. It would have been hard for it to do so, under the conditions of predominant social ownership. Privatization has not yet gotten under way. We are delaying the measures that are supposed to consolidate the changes in the system. Several East European states have already surpassed us, something which in turn is causing the departure of (the otherwise few) potential foreign investors. It is not just a question of privatization. The formation of a modern financial police is not happening at all, the state is inefficient in collecting taxes, which is one of the reasons for the relatively high taxes, and very little has been done to reduce public spending and in general to make the state cheaper. The budget adopted indicates that one should not expect actions in that direction in the future either. A social pact, which is the first condition for curbing the pressures on wages and otherwise also reducing social tensions, is not happening at all either.

Just as it is possible to doubt with respect to the successes how much they are due to the current government's efforts and how much they have to do with a continuation of things that were set up a long time ago and a consequence of other institutions' activity, the government also has a whole series of excuses at hand for its failures, from the world recession to blockades in parliament. Of course, it is possible to feel that so far the government has not acted decisively enough, and that it has not provided an impetus for the decisive turnabout that it promised. Admittedly, it did not promise one during the first 100 days, but during those 100 days it did not show itself to be the one that could give one in the next 100 or 200 or 300 days.

We will thus remember the government's first 100 days primarily as a time when scandals, especially the Hit-VIS scandal, started to come to light, and a time when confidence in politics began to decline seriously in Slovenia. We will also remember it for the nervous reactions of the government, and especially its prime minister, to the revelation of the scandals and the attempts to clear them up in parliament; reactions that were by no means in proportion even to the worst accusations against the government and government officials.

To be sure, the government will claim that dealing with the scandals is only turning attention away from the real problems, primarily economic ones. Of course that may be true, but it is also true that we already heard such claims in response to all scandals under socialism. It turned out that as long as the "scandals" were not resolved, it was also impossible to solve the "real problems." For instance, what would have happened with the Slovene economy if the notorious trial of the group of four had not transpired as it did? What significance would a solution of Slovenia's "real" economic problems have had if the Slovene spring had been suppressed? Things are not comparable, of course, but the government will naturally also have to devote some of its strength to the scandals. The more that it sweeps things under the rug, the less credible it will be and the less important it will be whether it even achieves any economic, social, or other success.

National Bank Consults With Financial Institutions

93BA1015A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 5 May 93
p 4

[Article by Miha Jenko: "Financial Policy Will Go to Ruin, Unless You Curb Wages"]

[Text] Governor of the Bank of Slovenia Dr. France Arhar on Slovenia's further inclusion in international financial institutions; we will try to join the Bank for International Settlements [BIS] through several influential foreign central banks.

Ljubljana, 4 May—The BIS in Basel did not accept Slovenia's proposal that the former Yugoslavia's property at it (42 tons [as published] of gold and financial deposits with a total value of about \$500 million) be divided in accordance with the IMF model. According to the latter, 16.39 percent of this property would belong to Slovenia. Slovenia wants to become a member of that bank, and consequently the Bank of Slovenia has already contacted the governors of several European central banks and the American Federal Reserves about studying possibilities for the division of the above-mentioned property and for our Central Bank's joining the BIS at the June assembly of BIS shareholders. Dr. France Arhar, governor of the Bank of Slovenia, stated at today's press conference.

The governor presented the results of recent visits to the BIS, the IMF, the World Bank, and several other important financial institutions in the United States. As we know, the members of the BIS are not states (as is otherwise the case with the IMF and the World Bank, etc.), but rather the central banks of individual states. With respect to the division of Yugoslav property at the BIS, that bank thinks that it is not clear what the status of the old National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ] is, and how things are with the central banks of the former state's individual republics.

Slovenia Would Like To Join the BIS

According to the BIS's standards, only a central bank that conducts an independent monetary policy and represents a monetary area on the territory of its state can become a BIS member. For the time being, the Bank of Slovenia is the only one of the above-mentioned central banks that meets these conditions. For the time being, however, the BIS is saying that it may happen that none of the central banks from the former Yugoslav states will join this bank, and it is possible that only the Bank of Slovenia will; in short, many possibilities are still open. Otherwise, the BIS is intended primarily for the short-term financing of its member banks' overdue obligations, so-called bridging financing, which as a rule comes into consideration primarily when a state is experiencing balance-of-payments difficulties.

As the governor said, the BIS is merely a debtor, but not also a creditor of the states from the area of the former Yugoslavia, and consequently it is also not in its interest to determine what the NBJ's status is. Furthermore, it also does not have any interest in expanding the circle of its shareholders. It is precisely for that reason that the Bank of Slovenia will try to obtain the support of several influential foreign central banks in joining the BIS, and it is encouraging that this has already been promised by the U.S. Federal Reserves. Slovenia will make an effort to inform foreign central banks of its positions, so that Slovenia's regulation of its relations with that bank will be as clear and rapid as possible.

Negotiations With Paris Club States

Dr. Arhar also said that we want to start negotiations with the Paris Club states and the commercial bank creditors this year. According to him, Slovenia should make an effort to regulate relations with foreign creditors independently and separately. This is also important because this is the last year of the moratorium on repayment of the principal of some foreign loans.

During his visit to the United States along with his deputy, Bogomir Kos, they also agreed on our future constituency at the IMF. For the time being, we are still in the old, i.e., Dutch constituency, which was expanded with the new IMF members from the states of the former Soviet Union. "It is our desire to be as well represented in the constituency as possible, so that we would have the most direct possible contacts with the IMF and the

World Bank. We will propose to the government that it decide as soon as possible which constituency Slovenia should obtain a place in," Dr. Arhar said, and he emphasized again that our state did not need any standby arrangement with the IMF. According to him, our cooperation with the World Bank will slowly end, since our state has the kind of per capita GNP that exceeds the bank's standards, but it is important to us to obtain our share of the loans that are still available to us.

The IMF Is Interested in Our Budget Deficit

During the talks, representatives of the IMF—it is now preparing a report on Slovenia—were interested in how the budget debate was going, what our monetary policy was like, and especially what our budget deficit was like and how we intended to finance it. It is precisely the content of that report and the opinion of the IMF and other international financial institutions that will be extremely important for Slovenia's entry into the capital market; that is important to us because at the same time it would be a signal to others who are active in that market. The people at the IMF were concerned about what wage policy here would be like, and how it would influence overall economic trends and monetary policy. According to the governor, they also emphasized that all the previous efforts in these areas could be ruined if wages were not controlled.

The American interlocutors also proposed several changes in banking legislation (the Law on Banks and Savings Banks, and the documents adopted by the Bank of Slovenia's council) that would bring us closer to international standards. The requests made by the Basel committee for banking supervision are leading to the standardization of banking regulations.

In talks at the Eximbank, the Americans let us know that they expected the Slovene-Croatian agreement to regulate the repayment of foreign loans for the Krsko nuclear power plant to be adopted as soon as possible. That bank's future cooperation with our state also depends on resolving that issue.

The governor also said that for the time being there were no official requests for a change in the Bank of Slovenia's monetary policy, and that parliament also had not adopted any such requests.

[Box, p 4]

In the United States, our delegation also met with representatives of the U.S. Treasury, which also deals with calculations of the so-called country risk. They were informed there that several European institutions had already designated Slovenia as a nonrisky state, in contrast to other former Yugoslav republics. "They promised us that they would also take that step themselves. That will be extremely important, especially for LBS in New York, which is owned by Ljubljanska Banka," Dr. Arhar said.

SDK Director on Privatization Gone Wild
93BA1069A Ljubljana SLOVENE in Slovene
12 May 93 p 2

[Interview with SDK General Director Romana Logar by Peter Svetik; place and date not given: "Carrying Out the Privatization Audit Requires Changing the Regulations"]

[Text] The process of the privatization of socialized enterprises to date, which often assumes the form of out-of-control privatization, has recently been one of the topics employing officials and upsetting citizens. Many things in this regard are unclear, and many things are true, but there are also many unfounded suspicions. We talked with SDK [Public Auditing Service] General Director Romana Logar about some of these issues.

[Svetik] How would you explain the accumulated questions in this regard, and do you have any insight into the extent of the process of ownership transformation to date?

[Logar] The SDK has conducted about 160 reviews at enterprises and also checked ownership transformations, changes in capital, and status changes, and it has determined that there were no direct violations of regulations, but we did discover instances of socially detrimental privatization that did not improve enterprises' economic situation. There was no basis, however, for us to be able to change the situation. For instance, if profits were divided at a certain enterprise in such a way that a minimal share was allocated to social capital and a majority share was allocated to private capital, we did not have any material basis to be able to correct that division. Any monitoring body has to act according to some standards for judging correctness. The social climate has favored private ownership capital, which is supposed to be more efficient than social capital. It was thus not possible to change the ratio for the division of profits. We did sanction all irregularities that were not in accordance with legislation, however.

[Svetik] That means that you took measures in all cases when the provisions of the penal code, the law on bond relations, and other regulations in the area of financial business were violated. Everything that has been discussed recently, however, has to do with the moral aspect of individuals, and violations of the principles of good management.

[Logar] That observation is correct. The transfers of capital involve one-sided interpretations by legal services of the laws, which have been respected both by the courts and everyone else, even though they were written with a different purpose. Swearing by institutions which we have but which are not working is pure hypocrisy, since they did not have any legal basis in the transition from one economic system to another.

[Svetik] In your opinion, what is the reason why so many audit requests have been received in response to the public appeal, since you have already issued 1,066 decisions?

[Logar] People are familiar with the situation, unemployment is increasing, they have fewer and fewer rights, individuals' standard of living has increased, etc. They have felt that social property was allowing those individuals to acquire greater benefits. What it will be possible to prove is another question. Social capital has nevertheless made possible very diverse activities and actions by individuals.

[Svetik] The standards that you are preparing are supposed to standardize and make possible the work of the auditors. What do they basically provide for?

[Logar] So far we have identified several common features of the process of ownership transformation to date. We will be able to eliminate anomalies effectively only if we specify firm standards for action and measures for several phenomena that were not sanctioned but were contrary to the principles of good management, honesty, and morality. It is only in that way that it is possible to eliminate irregularities and fulfill the goals of article 48 to 51 of the Law on Privatization. They do not pertain to violations of the law in the past, but rather only specify precisely what good management is and establish the general principles of the law on bond relations and other regulations that were intended to protect social capital. In this regard we are contradicting the lawyers who claim that that would mean violating constitutional rights. The other part applies to the procedure for eliminating these misappropriations, since the present one does not allow effective elimination of irregularities, especially with respect to material relations.

[Svetik] What do the standards mainly specify?

[Logar] They deal with loans whose interest rate was lower than $R + 8$ percent, cases in which a reserve fund was not formed during the division of profits, when at least a 6 percent business fund was not ensured from the average value of the social capital, when preferred shares were issued for social capital that allowed distributing shares at the expense of social capital, when material expenses were paid for without corresponding documentation, when contributions and taxes were not paid on bonds for additional capitalization, when social capital was transferred without payment outside of the established forms, etc. Those irregularities have to be eliminated by a decree, while ensuring the possibility of appeal, in order to protect rights. It is also important not to obstruct [privatization] processes.

[Svetik] How many auditors will you be able to employ, and how long will the audit process take?

[Logar] In view of other obligations, we will be able to use at most 100 inspectors for these tasks, since all the other work has to proceed normally. If we do not adopt the standards, that is social sabotage, i.e., we are rushing

toward a country of crime. Those standards are going directly into the law (articles 48a and 49a), and consequently they have to be adopted by the State Assembly.

[Svetik] Are you optimistic about the adoption of the standards and the audit procedure?

[Logar] I am afraid that the standards will be adopted by the government and parliament, but that they will be opposed in legal circles, that a constitutional suit will be started, and that the Constitutional Court will decide everything. That will obstruct or even prevent the audit. The Constitutional Court also did not decide on article 145b as it should have, and that is why we are again proposing that this article be revoked.

Federal

Kontic Comments on Cooperation With UNPROFOR

AU0706205693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Dr. Radoje Kontic, federal prime minister and chairman of the Government Committee for Cooperation with UNPROFOR, together with members of the committee, held a news conference at the Palace of the Federation. This was the first news conference by the committee in its new composition at which the entire cooperation between this body and UNPROFOR since the latter's arrival on the territory of the former Yugoslavia was assessed. Here is a report by Branka Kerkez:

[Begin recording] [Kerkez] Dr. Radoje Kontic, chairman of the Government Committee for Cooperation with UNPROFOR, said that the activity of the peace forces on the territory of Serbian Krajina and other territories of the former Yugoslavia can be generally assessed as positive. The presence of UNPROFOR has undoubtedly contributed to preserving peace, albeit a rather fragile one, and prevented great human casualties and destruction. Dr. Kontic pointed out, adding that there were nevertheless some negative assessments. He pointed out that Yugoslavia has always supported the Vance plan and its implementation, but that this plan has several times been unilaterally revised by Security Council resolutions that proclaimed the republic of Serbian Krajina an integral part of Croatia, which led the Federal Government to protest to the United Nations.

The Yugoslav Government deems the further engagement of UN peace forces in preserving peace to be indispensable until a political solution to the question of the republic of Serbian Krajina is found. The government advocates an extension of the UNPROFOR's mandate by one year and the deployment of peace forces along the line of separation between the sides in the conflict. Dr. Kontic pointed out. He pointed to the danger of changing the UNPROFOR mandate from preserving peace into securing, that is, imposing peace, as is done by resolutions on the no-fly zone and on protected zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Kontic] In my opinion, there is a very serious danger that imposing peace and imposing a solution to the crisis may lead to new clashes and to the conflagration of war spreading, instead of establishing peace and a political solution to the problems on the territory of the former SFRY.

[Kerkez] This is particularly dangerous because of the presence of large foreign military forces, the biased stand among the peace forces, something that happened in some cases during the Croatian aggression on Krajina, and possible provocations. Yugoslavia advocates a political solution to the crisis and is ready for full cooperation, something one cannot say about some Croatian and Muslim forces, Dr. Kontic pointed out. He added that it

has been noticed that Croatian forces are amassing along the border with the republic of Serbian Krajina and that the achieved agreement about Prevlaka is not being respected.

Speaking about the Washington joint action plan, Dr. Kontic praised the support for a peaceful political solution and the assessment that the Vance-Owen plan represents a process that can be amended. However, it is negative that new conditions for lifting sanctions have been imposed, something that usually happens whenever a previous condition is met.

The sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is also being threatened by the insistence that military observers are deployed along the border with the Serbian republic. Yugoslavia has made the decision to stop any aid except for humanitarian and it is responsible for its implementation, Kontic said, and added the following:

[Kontic] We consider the demand for deploying observers [monitors] along the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian republic to be completely superfluous and unnecessary in a situation when those same people who demand the deployment of observers along the border can without any problems control the border with military aircraft, that is, forces that are already above Bosnia-Herzegovina every day. This is why we harbor certain reservations toward such a way of deploying military forces at the border between the Serbian republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Kerkez] Dr. Radoje Kontic, chairman of the committee, also negatively assessed the five ministers' demand for the further internationalization of the Kosovo issue, as well as the announcement of harsher measures.

The journalists were also told that 35 resolutions have been adopted since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, as well as that there are 25,000 peace troops, of whom about 90 are in Yugoslavia, although no agreement has been signed with it as they refuse to regard us as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

It was also pointed out that UNPROFOR has been told that there is no longer any need to keep UN observers at Yugoslav airports. One could also hear that the UNPROFOR logistic base in Pancevo costs Yugoslavia \$60 million, as well as that, according to what is known so far, out of the overall costs of the peace forces, federal bodies collected \$970 million and Yugoslav firms \$3.5 million. The peace forces owe the largest sum to Belgrade airport: 400,000 German marks and they pay up for their debts in the republic of Serbian Krajina far worse than in Yugoslavia, it was said at the news conference in the Federal Government's Committee for the Cooperation with the UN peace forces. [end recording]

Jovanovic Views War, Relations With Austria

AU0406155793 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 4 Jun 93 p 12

[Interview with FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Oliver Vujovic in Belgrade; date not given: "We Are Not Considering a Military Option"]

[Text] [Vujovic] Mr. Minister, rump Yugoslavia has been hermetically isolated for one year by the UN sanctions. What is your government doing to eliminate the cause of these sanctions?

[Jovanovic] First of all, I have to stress that, from the moral point of view, this hermetic isolation is hardly different from locking an entire nation in a gas chamber, while its slow death is expected by those outside.

Dying in a gas chamber is like dying of hunger, disease, and poverty in a hermetically isolated country. It is incredible that the world civilization permits such collective retaliation on a people at the end of the 20th century.

Of course, we are trying to push through our policy of peace as resolutely as possible despite this inhuman pressure. The Serbs in Bosnia were never our puppets and we were never their commanders. A civil war, not a war that is controlled from the outside, is being waged in Bosnia. We are doing everything to achieve peace.

However, it is absurd to expect that the FRY is able to establish peace in Bosnia. There are three sides. In addition, there are the numerous Muslim and Croatian volunteers who are now in Bosnia, and there is the direct interference of some countries that have disregarded the arms embargo for some time.

[Vujovic] As one of the most recent peace initiatives, the "joint action program" for the Bosnian conflict of the United States, Russia, France, Great Britain, and Spain was presented. How do you see this program?

[Jovanovic] As compared to previous initiatives, it is a great progress. With this action program, any military option is ruled out—I hope forever—and a peaceful solution is demanded for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It has been and is our point of view that the problems of the three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina can only be solved if the war is stopped. Only with a consensus of the three peoples, of course, without interference from abroad, can peace in Bosnia be secured forever.

[Vujovic] Do you agree to the complete program of the five countries?

[Jovanovic] Of course, we do not completely agree with some points of the action program, but this will only be of marginal importance if peace in Bosnia is achieved by it.

[Vujovic] But this plan also calls for observers who are to be stationed at the border between rump Yugoslavia and the Serbian territories in Bosnia. However, so far Serbia has rejected this.

[Jovanovic] I must clearly tell you: We are against the presence of possible observers on our side of the border with Bosnia. We have anyway restricted any contact with the Bosnian Serbs to a minimum of humanitarian help and are conscientiously implementing this. Nobody needs to check us.

We have nothing against observers on the Bosnian side. It is another state and it is not our business whether observers are there.

But one thing is clear: We reject all calls for the deployment of observers or even UN Protection Force soldiers in the FRY. Here I also think of Kosovo. For we cannot accept a threat to our sovereignty and this demand would mean precisely that.

[Vujovic] You mentioned the restriction of contacts with the Bosnian Serbs. Does this mean a change of the policy of rump Yugoslavia toward the Bosnian Serbs?

[Jovanovic] No, there has been no change. Our policy is continuous; we have always only supported positions in principle. In this context, we also supported the demand of the Serbs outside rump Yugoslavia for self-determination of their future. The Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia were deprived of this right by others, which led to the war.

According to the Constitution, the Serbs in Bosnia were a nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, just like the Croats and Muslims. The Croatian-Muslim coalition deprived the Bosnian Serbs of this right, which was continued by the referendum imposed by the EC.

The Serbs in Bosnia only defended their right and the Vance-Owen peace plan would have given it back to them. The peace plan guaranteed the Bosnian Serbs that, in Bosnia, all questions could only be decided by consensus. This sufficed for us in rump Yugoslavia to adopt the Vance-Owen peace plan as a framework for negotiations and a process.

This is our policy. Not we, but the world has changed its policy toward the Serbs in Bosnia.

[Vujovic] What are your diplomatic proposals for the solution of the Bosnian problem?

[Jovanovic] First of all, the war between all three sides in Bosnia must be terminated. At the same time, the world must put pressure on all three parties to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, not only on the Serbs as before.

Their legitimate rights must be guaranteed to all three sides. In this way, any discrimination will be prevented. So far, the Serbs in Bosnia have been discriminated against, now it is the Muslims' turn.

The FRY will accept any decision that is made in consensus by all three peoples in Bosnia. We are keeping our distance, we do not give advice to any of the peoples.

[Vujovic] Regarding the relations between rump Yugoslavia and Austria: Generally speaking, they are interrupted.

[Jovanovic] Yes, I even have to say that they are abnormal. However, Austria alone is responsible for it, we have never endangered Austria's independence. On the other hand, Austria had a major share in the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

Austria is still calling for military action and it is interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. Austria supports the separatist demands of the Albanians in Kosovo and thereby rejects the FRY's existence as a state.

We do not see any rational reasons for this hostility toward the FRY and the Serbian people; I would rather explain everything by the syndrome of revanchism.

However, I want to make it clear that we are not accusing the Austrian people. Austrians have always been very much appreciated here because of their work and achievements.

[Vujovic] But Serbian threats were addressed to Austria. Some Serbian extremists and generals threatened bomb attacks on Vienna and terrorist attacks in Austria.

[Jovanovic] There were individual statements, but this is not the viewpoint of our government. But if one knows the situation in Bosnia and the one-sided policy of some countries, including Austria, such statements are logical. However, these threats are of no political importance, and they are completely ignored by us.

But it would be good if fewer irrational, absurd, and militarist statements were made by the Austrian side because bad things initiate bad things.

[Vujovic] But the threats also came from military circles. Do the Austrians have to take these threats seriously? Who is in control of the army of the rump Yugoslavia and, thus, of the missiles?

[Jovanovic] The FRY Army is under the control of the Supreme Command of the army. Of course, we do not have any control over the army commanders in Bosnia and we are not responsible for their statements. But their reaction was certainly the result of pressure from abroad. In clear words: We are not considering a military option.

[Vujovic] Does that mean that the fear of the possible bombing of Austria is out of place?

[Jovanovic] It is unnecessary to be afraid of the FRY. Of course, if we were attacked, we would protect ourselves with all means, as we have always done so far. But we do not threaten anybody.

Former FRY President Cosic Interviewed

LD0606123693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 6 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Warsaw, June 6 (TANJUG)— The world is cruel to Serbia and is neither ready nor interested to see its truth, former president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic has stated in an interview published in the Polish GAZETA WYBORCZA on Saturday.

How is it possible to present the extremely complex Yugoslav reality as strictly black and white, Cosic asked in the interview.

Cosic said that Serbs did not carry out aggression on the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. "Aggression in one's own home. It is a land of Serbs. Until 1961, Serbs were numerically the strongest people in Bosnia. They are not occupying either Muslim or Croatian land. They are simply holding their own territory," Cosic said.

"However, peace is of the utmost importance for us, and that is not a political phrase. There have been too many victims, too much destruction. The Serbian people cannot endure so much," Cosic said in the interview given to GAZETA WYBORCZA's editor in chief while he was still president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Cosic said that Serbia had not yet succeeded in defining its social and national goals.

Commenting the political stage in Serbia, Cosic said that Slobodan Milosevic had raised his voice in defense of the equality of the Serbian people in the other republics of Yugoslavia and that his success had come from that. Cosic criticized Milosevic for being an "autocrat by nature." He said Milosevic's ideology was still not clear and he had not completed the social transformation he had begun.

Cosic said the objective motive for Serbian nationalism was a fear for survival caused by the destruction of Yugoslavia. Cosic said that the nationalism of Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party (SRS) was the most dangerous one.

Cosic said the nationalists' political goal "all Serbs in a single state" was unrealistic and such a senseless ideology would end when the war did.

Explaining the origins of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, Cosic said the former Yugoslavia had begun to disintegrate back in 1962 or 1963, when its transformation from a federation into a confederation had begun. The communist parties of all the republics, especially those of Slovenia and Croatia, were in fact nationalistic, Cosic said. He said that Serbia's party had expressed the greatest loyalty to the Yugoslav idea.

"I definitively and formally withdrew from the party in 1968, when I, just as many of my friends, got convinced that Tito's party was falling under the influence of nationalism. Tito could not stand Serbs; he was almost paranoid about it," Cosic said.

Albanian Party Leaders View Cosic's Removal

AU0706093693 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by R. Barjaktarevic: "It Does Not Show Anyone in the Best of Lights"]

[Text] The removal of Dobrica Cosic is logical and was to be expected. However, the way it was carried out, "overnight," does not reflect well on anybody. In short, this is how the leaders of Albanian political parties in Kosovo comment for BORBA on the removal of Dobrica Cosic.

Fehmi Agani, deputy president of the Democratic League of Kosova:

"We really have no reason to be particularly sorry that Mr. Cosic, president of Yugoslavia, was removed, but the way in which the president of the country was removed, on orders and very quickly—which does not show any country in a good light—is an expression of crisis, international and internal, a state in which the country has been for a long time now. All those who thought that Milosevic's socialists have changed their tune, that they were going to separate themselves from the radicals, have once again made a big mistake. Although Milosevic has a pragmatic and instrumental attitude towards problems and allies, an alliance with Seselj is his fate. In his regime's general crisis, aware of the increasing dissatisfaction and distancing of the intelligentsia, the church, and others, Milosevic had no choice but to, once more, rely on his Seselj, in order to again show who the master is, and to use this act to strengthen his power. However, the results could be contrary to what was desired."

Miljaim Kadriu, president of the Albanian People's Party:

"It seems that Cosic's concept of a Greater Serbia has come to an end. Even the Serbs have finally understood that the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, which dates back to 1986 and whose main architect was Cosic, has brought great misfortune to the Serbian people."

Musa Bacaj, member of the Christian Democratic Party's Presidency:

"My personal impression is that this is a showdown between progressive intellectual forces and those aggressive ones, among which the president of the Chamber of Citizens, Radoman Bozovic, known for earlier involvement in affairs, has a particularly prominent place."

Skeljzen Malici, vice president of the Social Democratic Party of Kosova:

"Mr. Cosic spent a year in office, after which he was discarded, just like Panic. After this, the regime's intentions are very dangerous. This is a total militarization of the Serbian issue on the internal level.

"New surprises are to be expected. This is a machine which cannot stop, it looks for and fabricates enemies which it subsequently destroys. This process continues until it falls apart, self-destructs. From our standpoint, we are not sure whether to be glad or to worry. It is always dangerous, because you are in a sinking ship."

UN Resolution Viewed as Beginning of Intervention

AU0506203693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Commentary by POLITIKA military commentator Miroslav Lazanski, from the "On the Spot" program]

[Text] I am very skeptical about the efficiency and the possibility to fully implement this latest UN Security Council resolution [No. 824]. I believe that we are now witnessing the commencement of the so-called [word indistinct] intervention, the territory of the military intervention being the territory of former Bosnia.

The 5,000 soldiers mentioned in the resolution is not a very impressive figure in itself and cannot be impressive in changing the military situation on the field. However, the possibility that they arrive with heavy arms, form logistic bases and communication centers, and take their positions in peace—this is the bridgehead that the international community is practically already preparing via UN troops and the military potential of the Western countries.

Had the West decided for a direct military intervention on the territory of former Bosnia—either from the air or by ground troops—such an intervention would not only provoke a reaction of the (?international) public—this would probably be the case—but would also bring great casualties with it, probably. In this way, step by step, backed by the legal and political mechanisms of the UN Security Council, the resolution, and so forth, the military potential of the Western countries on the territory of former Bosnia is growing daily under the auspices of UN. They are taking their military positions in peace, and they are taking strategic points and directions from which they can act very efficiently later.

Therefore, regarding all the debates as to whether there will be soldiers from the Islamic countries—well, I definitely do not expect this possibility to pass all that easily, as the UN Security Council is aware that the Serbian side in Bosnia simply would not accept the soldiers from Turkey, Pakistan, or Saudi Arabia at any price. Italy cannot participate, I doubt that it could even as a part of the blue berets, because of the historic feelings. The countries that could send soldiers on the territory of former Bosnia—for example Great Britain and France—are already encountering great problems

with their budgets and process of reducing their armies. True enough, Russia is offering its troops, but in such a way that the Russian Army would practically be financed via the UN and would keep some of the units that would otherwise have to be disbanded because of a reduced military budget, and it would come handy that somebody else pays for them.

For me, this resolution is (?potentially) dangerous. Perhaps, we are not even aware at this very moment to what extent the flexible terminology of this UN Security Council resolution abounds in ambiguities and how much leeway it offers for speculations. Here you simply do not have a clear idea as to who will decide on the field whether a bullet was fired at a UN convoy from this or the other side. Will this be the responsibility of a captain, a major, or some lieutenant? Will he be able to call via radio for NATO aircraft to bomb this or the other hill, from which somebody fired a bullet?

I mean, this is a terribly stretchy resolution that could also mean the beginning of a war against the Serbian side on the territory of former Bosnia. I think that this actually represents the UN's meddling into the civil and ethnic war in Bosnia. What in a way confirms such an opinion of mine is the statement by U.S. Ambassador to UN Mrs. Albright, who said that this was merely an intermediate step.

Military Officials on Command, Combat Readiness

LD0506135593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—A meeting of top-ranking officers of the Yugoslav Army and top-ranking officials of the Defense Ministry was held in Belgrade today. Milos Radulovic, acting president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and chairman of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Republics, attended the meeting, the information service of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army disclosed in a statement.

On this occasion, they discussed the state of command and the overall combat readiness of the Yugoslav Army under the situation of constant activity of international factors and the current security situation in the country.

It also considered, in particular, causes and consequences of the tragic event in the Juznomoravske Brigade barracks in Vranje, when eight members of the Yugoslav Army lost their lives.

In connection with this, it considered measures undertaken at all levels of command with the aim of protecting lives and measures aimed at establishing all relevant facts leading to this event.

The position has been adopted to energetically rectify all shortcomings in military organization and to inform the public about the findings of investigative bodies [into

this incident], says the statement by the information service of the Yugoslav Army's General Staff.

Opposition Parties Demand Draskovic's Release

LD0706224593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2154 GMT 7 Jun 93

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 7 (TANJUG)—Ten opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Monday demanded the release of opposition leader Vuk Draskovic and his wife Danica.

Draskovic, who heads the Serbian Renewal Movement (S.P.O.), and his wife, herself a prominent member of the S.P.O. leadership, were arrested on Wednesday early in the morning for leading a violent riot and storming of the parliament building in Belgrade on June 1-2, in which one police officer was killed and 30 protesters and police were injured.

The ten parties' officials wrote to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic demanding the release of the Draskovics and others arrested in the riot.

“We are approaching you with a joint request for the release of Vuk and Danica Draskovic and the other unlawfully arrested participants in the protest of June 1, 1993,” said the letter.

The letter went on to say that “it is unheard of that the leader of the biggest opposition party—member of the DEPOS [Serbian Democratic Alliance] (opposition coalition) which has 70 seats in parliament—should be arrested... and the brutalising of opposition officials by the authorities in state institutions is a worse form of lawlessness and gives rise to greater concern than the street riot.”

According to officially unconfirmed information, the Draskovics were brutalised at the time of their arrest and while in custody. The police has neither confirmed nor denied the report, and the public prosecutor has moved to ban the S.P.O.

The signatories to the letter—officials of parties, some of which are members of the DEPOS opposition coalition—said that it was precisely “this kind of lawlessness, which testifies not only of a trampling on human rights, but also of the position of the democratic opposition, that has brought the country to the brink of a state of emergency, caused unanimous condemnation by the rest of the world and distanced Serbia still further from the democratic states and the international community.”

“The release of the arrested, dropping of charges and of the motion for banning the S.P.O. would be the first signs of a cooling of passions and a step back from the abyss,” the letter said.

The letter has been signed by the S.P.O., the Democratic Party of Serbia, the Serbian Liberal Party and the New

Democracy—Movement for Serbia, all members of DEPOS, as well as by the Citizens' Alliance of Serbia, the Democratic Party, the National Radical Party, the National Peasant Party, the Peasants' Party of Serbia, the Social Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Centre Party, the Serbian National Renewal and the Serbian St. Sava Party.

Brother Visits, Says Draskovic 'Massacred'

LD0706134093 Paris AFP in English 1317 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 7 (AFP)—Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic has been "massacred" by police who arrested him here last week during anti-government demonstrations, his brother Rodoljub said on Monday after visiting him in the central prison.

The imprisoned man was in a very serious state, with the marks of fierce blows all over his body and head, and was suffering from severe heart and kidney pains, his brother said.

Rodoljub went to see his brother with their three sisters, who left the prison in a great state of shock.

Vuk Draskovic and his wife Danica, also under arrest, have been charged and face prison sentences of 10 to 15 years for their part in the demonstration, which turned into a riot in which a policeman was killed.

A committee for their release was formed on Sunday. Supporters who began circulating a petition in the streets were held for some hours of questioning by police, one of the committee's organising groups said.

Police have banned demonstrations of support for Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, in provincial towns including Nis, Kraljevo and Gornji Milanovac.

DSS Files Suit Against Police

LD0606141393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] has decided to file criminal charges against policemen of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs because of the unauthorized use of force against Vuk Draskovic and other demonstrators while arresting them on the night of 1-2 June.

In a statement issued today the DSS says the charges are to be brought because of the criminal abuse of official power contrary to Article 66 of the Penal Code of the Republic of Serbia.

DSS Chairman Vojislav Kostunica and a delegation of the party will demand that the Belgrade District Court issue a permit to visit the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement in the central prison.

The statement goes on to say that all citizens who were exposed to maltreatment by the police can apply to the DSS for free legal aid concerning possible compensation demands.

Serbia

Institute Denies Nuclear Weapons Program Exists

LD0806121793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—Experts of the Vinca Institute of Nuclear Sciences, the only one of its kind in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, have never worked on the production of a nuclear bomb nor any other nuclear weapon, Vinca Assistant Director Branko Djuric told TANJUG today.

Commenting on a sensational article published in the French newspaper FIGARO which says that a nuclear bomb is being made in Yugoslavia, Djuric said that Vinca only worked on a project of development of nuclear energetics, i.e. the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

This type of research was progressing fast until the end of the Sixties when it was reduced because of the lack of money and an insufficient interest in this form of energy. Vinca is currently conducting this type of research on a small scale, Djuric said.

In addition, our country is a signatory to the international treaty on nuclear nonproliferation, which means that the Vienna-based International Agency for Nuclear Energy supervises all substances that could be used for the production of nuclear explosives.

In accordance with that treaty, inspectors of the agency once a month come to our institute for inspection, and this is yet another proof, as Djuric said, that the allegations about the work on nuclear bomb are only searching for a sensation.

Commenting on the FIGARO article claiming that Vinca is carrying out experiments with cold-fusion, Djuric said that it was not true. Cold-fusion experiments were conducted elsewhere in the world approximately four years ago but proved unsuccessful and the idea has largely been abandoned. According to Djuric, Vinca has also carried out cold-fusion experiments, which is a considerably simpler way of producing energy, but no reliable progress was reached; therefore, the experiments practically ceased.

DS Calls For Political Pact Led by SPS

LD0506133293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Novi Sad, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—The chairman of the Democratic Party [DS], Dragoljub Micunovic, has urged the creation of a political pact of all parties in order to avert the threat of armed anarchy and the

introduction of the state of emergency. Micunovic was speaking at the constitutive conference of the DS provincial board in Novi Sad today.

Micunovic stressed that the ruling party—the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS]—should set this initiative in motion, because it bears most responsibility for the overall situation in the country.

The DS leader categorically opposed violence and the violent takeover of power, stressing that “it would dangerous to respond to violence with violence,” because, as Micunovic put it, overstepping authority and beating up people in detention only spreads fear among the people, who are already concerned for their own survival.

Micunovic also opposed the initiative to ban the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], saying that “it would be politically dangerous and legally indefensible to ban a party because, objectively speaking, the SPO is not guilty for what happened during the tragic events in the Assembly and its corridors.”

The DS, according to Micunovic, supports the call for Vojvodina's autonomy, and it respects specific features of autonomy, but it is resolutely against any separatism since “there have been too many divisions in Serbia.”

Djordje Basic was elected the chairman of the provincial board, and Mile Brankov was elected head of a five-member executive board of the provincial board. Representatives of opposition parties and Vojvodina Parliament Speaker Milutin Stojkovic attended the conference.

Macedonia

Gligorov Receives Berov, Signs Trade Agreement

LD0706204493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Bulgarian Prime Minister Dr. Lyuben Berov, who is on a two-day official visit to the Republic of Macedonia, met Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov today. The possible danger of the war spreading toward the south of the former Yugoslavia was discussed during their talks. In this regard Gligorov briefed his guest on his state's foreign policy priorities.

Regarding the relations between Macedonia and Bulgaria, it was said that there is much scope for mutual cooperation. An agreement on trade and economic cooperation was signed, envisaging a free-trade zone between the two states.

Montenegro

Article Discusses Sanctions, Future Options

AU0606185793 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 93 pp 6, 7

[Article by Olja Obradovic: “The First Year of Loneliness”]

[Text] “Things are going exceptionally well. Unemployment is very high. The inflation rate is astronomical. The largest part of industry has ceased functioning. Fuel for agricultural machines cannot be bought any longer, so that the whole population is in a very unpleasant situation.”

Although this statement, issued by a high official of the European Community Center for Sanctions Control (SAM-COMM) from Brussels about the present effects of the international isolation of the self-appointed Yugoslavia is completely true, it still cannot be taken for granted that “things are going exceptionally well.” The aim of the European Community and the United Nations was not to expose the whole population to a “very, very unpleasant situation,” although many people think so. Although the situation is more than unpleasant one year after the sanctions were introduced, there are still no indications that the people are coming to their senses. Neither are there signs that the population could soon ask the state authorities some “unpleasant” questions, let alone challenge their right to continue their policy of exposing them to destruction because of their insane ideas. In the morning queues for milk and bread you can only hear sighs such as: “It is good as long as we have this,” or “Hopefully there will be no war.”

Neither the authorities in Belgrade, nor their “branch offices” in Podgorica have explained to their voters how much the pleasure to live together with the Serbs in one state will cost.

Disregarding this fact, the question is whether the voters are at all entitled to ask their authorities “unpleasant questions.” It was not a coincidence that Momir Bulatovic said in a session of the Montenegrin Parliament—convoked only a couple of days after the UN Security Council adopted Resolution No. 757 with only two abstentions—that Montenegro is perhaps blamed by the international community for having supported the leadership which is making a wrong policy. Bulatovic said that mistakes in policy could be expected, but since the citizens of Montenegro voted three times for the strategic direction of its policy in a very short period of time, the Montenegrin leadership did not see any necessity to change its policy.

Even the Montenegrin Parliament, which was also elected in the free election, remained consistent to the Montenegrin policy for which it was punished by the sanctions. Only several sensible people were heard in the parliament, but they were silenced by the deafening noise of the rest of the parliament members, which can best be illustrated by the statement of Pavle Milic, a member of the parliament: “In its history this people has been exposed to even bigger threats than this one and has survived in spite of that. We shall defend Montenegro and the Serbian nationality until the end and we shall not fall to our knees in front of anybody.”

Only the Beginning

In any case, we did not fall to our knees during the last year; we fell even deeper. According to Milo Djukanovic, the prime minister, one-third of the Montenegrin population (200,000) were in "social need" in March. This deterrent figure has to be taken with reserve because "the most needy" have in the meantime been joined by a new army of the unemployed, because many companies went bankrupt or had to either reduce production or close down owing to the lack of raw materials.

The Montenegrin Government also confirmed some time ago that the situation is very difficult, making the social policy "the most important issue" to deal with. The information that family cards will be introduced, and that the government will regularly supply the population with basic foods and necessary hygienic articles is not very comforting because it indicates that a long period of isolation is coming. The leadership knows what most of the citizens are not yet aware of—that everything that happened last year is only the beginning if the blockade remains valid.

Catastrophic Effect

The information that income from employment covers only 28 percent of consumption allows the conclusion that the people have so far lived on their savings because there have not yet been social shocks despite the astronomical inflation and miserable wages. Since the reserves have grown thinner in the meantime, many people will feel a deterioration of the standard of living when they will not have any more hard currency to change into dinars on the black market. The raw and production material reserves are also very low. The companies had managed to break the embargo somehow by the time Resolution 820 was adopted; they have been warned now by the international community that this will not work any longer. This warning has already been confirmed by stricter controls at the borders. This means that fewer and fewer people, especially in Montenegro, whose industry is dependent on imports, will be able to live on their work. By the beginning of May, 65 billion dinar (10 million German marks) were taken from the state treasury in order to pay the wages of 100,000 workers in 79 Montenegrin companies.

That the effect of the sanctions on the Montenegrin economy is catastrophic, was repeated also by Milo Djukanovic in front of the Podgorica municipality representatives: "Production has dropped by 35 percent in the last four months because of the impossibility to export, \$150 million has been lost, \$90 million has been lost in tourism and \$57 million in maritime traffic." He also said that the government had tried hard to keep this level of production last year. Djukanovic continued that the government had also applied a \$90 million economy support program, but it was obvious, he said, that this "management" was leading to "a final collapse of the economic structures and thus of all other vital functions."

Ljubomir Madzar, professor at the Belgrade University School of Economy, also warned that the infrastructure and housing facilities were deteriorating daily, that livestock had considerably decreased and that "household appliances such as refrigerators, washing machines, and so forth could not be replaced by new ones once they stop functioning...."

The people are thinking what to do when they will not be able to buy clothes and shoes any longer. They believe in this state of patriotic delirium that the Serbian nationality is not too expensive even if they are forced to wear rags. The motto says: Everything for the Serbian nationality, Serbian nationality for nothing. For this reason probably, nobody is complaining about the fact that he cannot buy even the cheapest children's sports shoes with his monthly wage.

People are obviously aware that the most important thing is to "preserve dignity" in this unjust world and have therefore accepted to live in fear from rising crime and fascism, getting slowly used to these circumstances as to any other achievement of civilization. While the leadership is stating that "crime is slowly rising, but has not assumed disturbing proportions yet" and that there is no fascism in Montenegro, we have gotten used to securing our apartments with special locks and to paying immensely expensive plane tickets in order to be able to fly over Strpci.

The warnings by economists, that we will come to our senses on the day when we shall not be able to buy milk and bread, have to be taken with reserve. The prognosis given by the high SAM-COMM official from Brussels that "things are going exceptionally well" is very naive because a public opinion poll taken by the Market Research Department of the "Kredibel" Bank in Belgrade and published in BORBA proved that more than half of the respondents think that "all people live under the same difficult conditions," even 15 percent believe that "other people suffer even more" than them.

Only Two Options

The leadership knows very well, also without such investigations, that the majority of its citizens are ready to suffer and that no expression of social dissatisfaction is to be expected soon. At least as far as this aspect of the crisis is concerned, they can be quiet and take their time in persuading the international community that they were doing their best in order to fulfill the requirements of the West. Also Milo Djukanovic promised the Podgorica municipality officials that his cabinet would start an offensive diplomatic activity in order to present "all the efforts and the contribution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Montenegro as a part of it, to the solution of this key problem."

It is clear that the four-act performance, which started in Bijeljina, went through Athens and Belgrade to Pale, was only an attempt to deceive the world and not a true wish to terminate the war in Bosnia. This was admitted by Dobrica Cosic in an interview for Sky News, in which he

said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could not accept international observers on the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina "because it is a question of morality and principle." Although the units of Karadzic's army are controlling the convoys with cans of food and medicine on their way to Bosnian Muslims, by which the world has been soothing its guilty conscience, "it must be believed what we are saying," says Dobrica Cosic, because the observers would "endanger the sovereignty and national dignity of Yugoslavia!"

The Montenegrin leadership has no other choice than to start an "intense diplomatic activity," for which it will have to apologize to its voters, because it really does not have any influence on the unfolding of events in Bosnia. Since the Belgrade regime is obviously not ready to give up the war in Bosnia as long as it has not achieved everything it wants, the Montenegrin leadership has only two options. Either to condemn Montenegro to a slow death under the sanctions or to take the risk of finding an independent way for Montenegro. Nobody is expecting from this leadership to take such a risk, or from the population to be disobedient, so that the first anniversary of the sanctions can be commemorated with the prognosis that we shall live in a long-term isolation with a long-lived leadership.

[Box, p 7]

Redundant

According to the annual statement of accounts for 1992, submitted by 145 companies (60 percent of tax payers) with 105,339 employees, the loss amounted to 35.9 billion dinars (\$67 million) and the total profit was 22.5 billion dinars (approximately \$42 million). The biggest loss, 66 percent of the total loss, was in seven industrial and traffic companies with 13,780 employees.

Public companies employed 131,299 people at the end of March 93; industrial 100,943 (77 percent) and nonindustrial companies 30,356 (23 percent). Compared with March 1991 the employment rate dropped by 0.4 percent—it dropped by 1 percent in industry, but it raised by 1.8 percent in nonindustrial companies.

Kosovo

Party Leader Supports Albanian Settlement Plan

LD0406145093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Pristina, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—At a news conference today, Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, lent his support to a plan to resolve the Kosovo question put forward by Albanian President Sali Berisha.

Rugova said that this six-point plan is realistic and that it could be implemented quickly.

Berisha unveiled the plan, which is nothing but a modification of Rugova's 10-point plan, in a speech made in Korce [southeast Albania] recently. Berisha openly asked "for urgent involvement of the European Community, the Security Council, the United States and NATO in the process of resolving the issue of Kosovo, in placing Kosovo as a neutral country under full UN control, and in making the lifting of sanctions against Serbia conditional on its pledge to resolve the problem of Kosovo and to resolve finally the issue of its status in line with the Helsinki Act and other international documents."

The Democratic Alliance chairman today commented on the hunger strike by Adem Demaci and a group of journalists which ended yesterday. Rugova said that although the strike ended without achieving any visible results, it nonetheless made some impact. The strikers themselves knew when they started the strike that they had no one to talk to, but at least they gained publicity among the Albanian people and the international public.

Commenting on a meeting between President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and President Kiro Gligorov of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and on Greece's new proposal regarding the name of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Rugova said that they made no deals and that Greece's proposed name of "Slavic Macedonia" was unacceptable to Albanians.

Rugova reiterated that he would persevere on his road to an independent and neutral Kosovo, adding it is difficult to persevere but "who perseveres the longest—will win."